

The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

THE Prime Minister has declared that he does not believe that the "immense problem of reconciling the security of Russia with the freedom and safety of western Europe is insoluble," and it was at his suggestion that the Berlin conference of Foreign Ministers was held. He was not alone in hoping that some way of approach might at last be found—or even indicated—toward the solution of the problem of the future of Germany and Austria, which in turn might lead to discussions about the vast problems of Asia.

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These notes are written while the Berlin conference is still sitting. Little has so far been done. The Eden plan for free elections leading to a democratic government for a united Germany was rejected by Mr. Molotov, whose alternative plan was totally unacceptable to the West. These opening moves were, no doubt, to be expected, and it is still possible that some room for adjustment may be found. But the signs are not propitious.

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The Molotov plan would turn the whole of Germany into a police State, as the Eastern Zone now is. That is the Russian price for a united Germany. And the offer is directed not to the other occupying Powers who would certainly reject it, but to the German people. For the strongest force in German politics is the demand for unity, and the people would pay a high price for it. Are they prepared to pay the Russian price?—and if so, should the Western Powers acquiesce? At present the German people are still only listening in to these discussions. The time must come, and come soon, when their voice must be heard and their rapidly growing power acknowledged. What will they reply to Mr. Molotov who says in effect, "You can have what you want on my conditions"? The aims of Russia in Germany are now clearly exposed, and there is some advantage in that. They are to make Germany into another Czecho-Slovakia.

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The demeanour and speeches of Mr. Molotov at Berlin have been closely scrutinized not least for any sign that the presence of a new régime in the Kremlin means the end of the assumption that

the cold war will continue indefinitely. The fact that this conference was held and others proposed means that the frozen stillness of European political life is breaking up and that traffic is beginning to move. In our present circumstances movement means both opportunity and danger. The leaders of the democratic world will need the active support of public opinion that is informed and resolute. Our love of freedom, our responsibility to God in our conduct to one another, and our law-abiding systems of government are no longer accepted without challenge, but they are the best things we know in our common life, and they are worth defending until we are shown something better. Those who share them with us are our friends.

That means that our immediate objective is a friendly, co-operative Europe working alongside the American people who share our deepest convictions and express them in similar institutions. Opportunities for making Europeans angry with Americans and Americans with one another are never lacking, and the enemies of both have some successes to encourage them. But what lies deeper than differences and even rivalries among the nations of the western world is the fact that we are engaged upon a common human enterprise for freedom against tyranny, for the vindication of the dignity of the human individual, and for the integration of the commonwealth of free nations, and it is that enterprise, not any dollar or sterling superiority, that justifies the civilization of the West.

So when Mr. Vishinsky declared at Lake Success, "We shall win by our ideas, our brains and our doctrines," we ought to be much heartened, for here is our strength. Mr. Vishinsky, the Soviet delegate at UNO, is also a leading legal authority and author of *The Law of the Soviet State*, in which he explains that a Communist court of law is "essentially an instrument of class policy." The Communist judge, he says, "must not aim solely at legal logic; he must always bear in mind that the law is nothing but the expression of party policy," and when the party line is in conflict with the law, he "must unhesitatingly reject the strict application of the law in order to give absolute obedience to party directions, which represent for him the supreme law." (We take these quotations from a source which is acknowledged below.) Is this something better than, say, the Common Law of England, or the laws as made by freely-elected Parliaments and interpreted by a separate and independent judiciary?

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But in these regions of ideas and principles what is the measure of good and bad? It has been given to us quite simply by our Lord

himself: By their fruits ye shall know them. And some of the fruits of the Soviet ideas and doctrines are set out in a little book, *What happens to Communists?* (Batchworth Press, 1s. 6d.), by Mr. Michael Padev, from which the quotations above have been taken. Mr. Padev has brought together from Communist sources some of the terrible facts about the purges which have been characteristic of Soviet government from its beginnings, and which still continue. In the six Soviet satellite States of eastern Europe the Communists came to power eight years ago. Already most of the first revolutionary leaders have been liquidated—including twenty Deputy Prime Ministers, fifty Cabinet Ministers, nearly all the Foreign Ministers, over one hundred Army generals, and well over one thousand government officials. In Russia itself the purges have been even more drastic. Of the men who made the Communist Revolution and ruled the State in the 1920's and 1930's, the majority were shot as spies and traitors, including:

9 out of 11 Cabinet Ministers holding office in 1936:

5 out of 7 of the Presidents of the last Central Executive Committee of the Soviets:

15 out of 27 of those who drafted the 1936 Soviet Constitution:

3 out of 5 of the Marshals of the Soviet Army:

About 60 per cent of all Soviet generals:

Over 80 per cent of the secretaries of the government trade union organizations:

All the members of Lenin's first Soviet cabinet except Stalin:

All the members of the Cabinet as reconstituted after Lenin's death except Stalin:

and among the rank and file of the party membership the same dreadful slaughter has gone on, and continues, for when Beria was executed four months after the death of Stalin extensive purges took place throughout Russia.

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We are not intimidated by ideas and doctrines that lead to consequences so dreadful. How then is the case against Communism so bedevilled that there should be any danger of Mr. Molotov's ideas of the government of Germany being preferred to Mr. Eden's? or of the Indian people subjecting themselves to Communist rule? Have we so emptied our common life of what is moral, humanistic and religious that the barbarities of eastern Europe should be accepted anywhere as some kind of deliverance?

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The generally accepted reason for the spread of communist doctrines is the poverty of the oppressed masses driving them irresistibly into violent revolutionary protest against economic

exploitation. Professor Seton-Watson in a recent series of articles in *The Manchester Guardian* (reprinted in pamphlet form) shows that in fact the working-class in industrialized countries today is not revolutionary: it wants reforms but not revolution. Nor is it true that in the under-developed countries the revolutionary impulse comes from the workers or peasants, who are generally illiterate, living in the manner of their forebears for generations, but from the intelligentsia, who supply the leaders. It is these who, if they choose revolution, choose also whether it shall be fascist or communist, and their aim is not economic power, but power itself. In Russia Stalin succeeded, where in Germany Hitler failed, in establishing, not a dictatorship set up for the sake of progress, or brought about as the result of the class struggle, or because of questions of public and private ownership, but totalitarianism which commands every resource of the State and controls the whole life of the citizen, who is not merely forbidden to do or to say what is illegal, but is bidden to do, to say and to think what is required by authority. It is this totalitarianism, so much more than economic control, which is described as "the deadly and peculiar poison of the twentieth century."

These two pamphlets are vivid 'documentaries' of our life today. They are especially helpful to young people.

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The birthplace of Dr. Elfed Lewis at Blaenycloed, Cynwyl Elfed, Carmarthenshire, is to be preserved as a place of pilgrimage. The cottage, now used as a garage, is to be restored as a national monument. Our readers will remember that in our issue for April, 1950, we printed a tribute to Elfed on his ninetieth birthday, written by his friend and successor as Archdruid of Wales, Wil Ifan, the Reverend William Evans of Bridgend, when Elfed was still actively filling the unique place he had in the national life of Wales. He was, among other things, chairman of the movement for a Parliament for Wales, and was still preaching with grace and authority.

Elfed was so great a figure in the national life of Wales that it was not always easy to remember that he spent most of his ministerial life in England, in Hull and, of course, in London.

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(Here I take leave to add a personal note of reminiscence.) Many years after he had left Hull I followed him there and found, as had happened everywhere he had ministered, he had left memories and an inspiration that was part of the life of the church. A few people who remembered him were still left and a second generation knew him well from the stories of their parents. He came from time to time to conduct anniversary services, and for

his last visit he motored across England from North Wales where he had been preaching at St. Asaph's cathedral, the first Non-conformist to do so in the seven centuries of its history. He came readily to a Saturday night reception where he spoke and received a succession of old friends and their children. After the Sunday morning service I took him to see one of his boys, now an elderly man, who had lost his sight through an illness and was taking it very hardly. In the afternoon, after a short rest, he came with me to a city hospital where there lay, with an inoperable cancer, a poor lady whose parents he had known. His friendly sympathy, his prayers and his blessing were the Christian ministry in its greatness. After the evening service we sat long over supper with Mrs. Lewis and my wife, while Elfed told us stories and quoted poetry, bringing forth from his treasure things new and old.

It was a week-end to tire a much younger man, but in the morning Elfed was up early enough to catch the nine o'clock ferry across the Humber to begin the long journey back to Penarth.

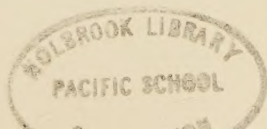
His Welsh friends say that there were sides of his genius that could find expression only in Welsh and to Welsh congregations and audiences. And indeed it was so. He hardly missed a National Eisteddfod for nearly seventy years and among his own people he had become a legend long before he died. He was a great man, a great preacher, a master of assemblies, but most of all he was a great minister of Jesus Christ.

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The United States has its own tradition of great preaching, and we are glad to be able to print an article in this issue from Dr. Gaius Glen Atkins, himself one of the distinguished preachers of his generation, as well as being author and editor (in 1948 he wrote for us our Lenten book, *From the Hillside*). He lives now in retirement, but is an interested and informed observer of the American religious scene. His testimony, confirmed by other correspondents, that the pulpit is still a great power in American life received curious support from the attack, hurriedly abandoned, made upon Protestant ministers as a body by the McCarthy committee. It is heartening to know that congregations in recent years have increased and are increasing, so that it is not uncommon for the morning service to be duplicated. There is generally in America no evening service, and the opportunity this provides is used for the development of highly-organized young people's activities.

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The second Assembly of the World Council of Churches is to be held in August at Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A. Dr. Leslie Cooke, who, as a member of the Central Committee and of its Executive



Committee, speaks with intimate knowledge and authority, has written a little book, *What about Evanston?* (British Council of Churches, 39 Doughty St., W.C.1, 6d.), which gives a clear picture of what the World Council has now become and what is hoped for from the second Assembly.

The first Assembly at Amsterdam in 1948 attracted world-wide attention. Over one hundred and fifty Churches from forty-three different countries, having at long last been brought together in conference, declared before God and the world their resolve "to stay together", always seeking the guidance and power of the Holy Spirit to express their common faith in Jesus Christ.

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There were revealed at Amsterdam, too, such differences, chiefly in the doctrine of the Church, that it was plain that the way to organic union was still long and difficult. Indeed it may be said that while the first, and permanent, result of the first Assembly was the recognition that these Churches realized and proclaimed their unity in Christ, the second was to reveal, if not to emphasize, confessional differences; and during the intervening years there has been marked development in the international consolidation of the great confessions. This, at first disconcerting, is natural and indeed inevitable. Brought together in worship and discussion, we know ourselves to be, first, men whose trust is in the grace of God and whose hope is the gospel of Jesus Christ. But this faith and hope are not detached from our varying situations and our different histories. Our understanding of God's revelation of Himself, our interpretations of the Scriptures and, some would add, our experience of the Holy Spirit, have emphases which lead to differences which, though they are secondary, are yet important. To understand these, to bring them into relationship with one another and the fundamental Gospel which we all share is one of the great tasks of the World Council. The Protestant—or, if we have so far forgotten the real meaning of the word, the non-Roman—Churches need an organization of thought and work to show forth their common faith, to support the weak among them, to guide the uncertain, and to enable them to bring the common judgment of a vast Christian community to bear upon the problems of a changing world. This work cannot be done by people who have made reluctant concessions for the sake of a nominal unity, but by men and women who cherish what they believe God has revealed to them without believing that their present apprehension of Christian truth is inerrant and final. Like Habakkuk we pray that the Lord will revive His work in the midst of the years.

The second Assembly will meet therefore with the guidance that the experience of the six years since Amsterdam has provided.

There have been disappointments, and there have been unexpected developments, but the constituent churches come together, we believe, no less firmly resolved to stay together in the faith that with God all things are possible. Meantime we wait, humbly and expectantly, to know what the Spirit will say to the churches.

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So far as we know the only residential library in the country is St. Deiniol's, at Hawarden, just across the Welsh border from Chester. It offers the facilities of a considerable library of 67,000 books, mostly theological and literary, based upon the non-political collection of W. E. Gladstone, whose family seat is hard by. It stands in beautiful grounds on the hills overlooking the Cheshire plain to the east with fine panoramas westward of the Denbighshire mountains. Chester itself is, of course, one of the most interesting cities in Europe, and is easily accessible. There is quite good golf. It is an Anglican foundation, but visitors of all denominations are welcome. Relatives and friends who have stayed there speak of it most appreciatively. The terms are very moderate and concessions are sometimes available to students. There are few pleasanter places for a working holiday.

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When these notes are read we hope to be basking in the spring sunshine which moved Robert Browning to long to be in England now that April's there, but they are written in February, which also has its unidentified poet—

First it rained, and then it snow,
Then it friz, and then it thew,
And then it friz again.

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On page 16, line 2 of the January issue, the first word 'straight' should read 'wavy'.

CHANGING PHASES OF AMERICAN PREACHING DURING THE LAST HALF-CENTURY

BY GAIUS GLENN ATKINS, M.A., D.D.

PREACHING has, historically, carried a heavy burden in American church life—though less in the liturgical than in the non-liturgical communions. The first immigrants, though motivated by religious quests, found here nothing at all of the material religious inheritances of a Christian civilization: neither buildings nor their furnishings, nor endowments, nor schools, nor anything at all save the faith and courage and the spoken Word they brought with them. Preaching, directly and indirectly, had to implement American church life from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The various communions, after their respective fashions, created authorities and organizations for their complicated and always unfinished tasks. But preaching had to explain and inspire these various undertakings and solicit the funds and the personnel. I do not know how to classify this phase of our preaching, but it has probably laid a heavier burden upon the pulpit than in civilizations which inherited the traditions of many Christian centuries.

For all that, preaching here did follow the patterns set, in part, by the Puritan or other inheritances, but the tasks it faced here were, among so many other things, the religious leavening of a nation. More specifically, the first Massachusetts and Connecticut churches brought their memberships with them, already gathered, tempered by great tribulation, and furnished with religious experiences they could and did make vocal.

American Preaching Faces Its First Problem.

When such as these heard "the trumpets sounding for them on the other side", the 'gathered' churches faced the problem of correcting morals, gathering communicants, re-kindling dying fires—and baptising little children. They had no established methods of winning members, and their congregations began to be made up of those who, though faithful enough in church attendance—they rather had to be—were not, by the searching tests of the times, or their own unwillingnesses, communicants so recognized. When they presented their children for baptism, the churches found themselves in a quandary: who would assure the proper Christian

nurture of the children after they were baptised? The Anglican Church had solved that problem with 'God-parents' and the corporate unity of the entire family in the church. New England did neither.

The result was a curious compromise, 'The Half-way Covenant', in which the parents promised Christian conduct for themselves and Christian training for their children. The terms of the Covenant now seem more than adequate, and most denominations would now accept parents into full membership upon a far less austere confession, but then they went far toward disrupting the church order. Jonathan Edwards met this situation with an appeal to the nominally unchurched or any without an experience of conversion. His appeal was strangely interwoven of terror and tenderness, and burned with solicitude for the souls of men. The 'Revival' had begun, but the historians called it 'The Great Awakening', as though to the sound of the trumpets of the Day of Judgment. The times were ripe for such a movement on both sides of the Atlantic and the Wesleys and Whitefield lent it their almost unbelievable force.

The sovereign object of this preaching was personal salvation. It advanced, as we shall see, along a wide front, but its goal was the conversion of the sinner and, for all who accepted its gospel, the assurance of Heaven. It crossed the American continent with the migrants, kindling strange fires in the forests of the always receding frontiers. It carried with it excitements and shoutings and hysterias, but it transformed character and bore on its tides churches, schools, colleges, American civilization, and an evangelical zeal which still warms and colours our preaching after two hundred years. I would date the diminution of it, though not its end, after its culmination in Dwight L. Moody, who himself sensed the turn of the tide and gave his final concern, open affection, to his Northfield schools. I would count his death as dating a transition period in American preaching. The evangelistic tradition could not have found its culmination in a nobler soul.

The Dawn of a New Epoch.

But preaching was facing a new epoch. It began to feel almost simultaneously the impact of 'evolution' and 'higher criticism'. Very likely, the lay-folk of a religious turn were more disquieted by the implications of evolution than the debated authorship of the first five books in the Bible. They did not like a simian ancestry, nor, in general, the resulting conflicts between evolution and the book of Genesis. At any rate, the tensions between science and religion were almost tragically intensified, and 'higher criticism' increased the strains.

The entire Bible was eventually to be included in the movement, but the orthodox religious mind was, on the whole, more disturbed by the debated authorships of the book of Isaiah than the parallels between the Genesis creation narratives and Chaldean literature. That was for the specialists, but the men and women in the pews felt, with a rather sound instinct, that if a fore-casting prophecy gave way it would carry what they thought vital with it. The vanguard of an invading host came in between the fortieth and the forty-first chapters of Isaiah.

Not that any of this was really new. The critical examination of the Bible had long been current in Germany and Great Britain, but in America it was slow in reaching the pulpit, and slower still in affecting the popular mind. But the conjoint movements carried on, and the pulpit saw at the foot of its stairs vast regions asking for explanations and reconciliations with inherited faith. It was not accomplished without alarms and excursions and controversies hot to the touch, and also some heresy trials, but it furnished a kindling chapter in the history of preaching. The conservatives were stirred, naturally, to rebuttal; the forward-minded, to militant advocacies. Our younger theologians studied in Germany and came back with a new vocabulary and, possibly, new minds. One might call this the period of re-interpretative preaching. I do know that, for many of us who were then young, it vitalized faith, cleared away doubts, and opened up wide horizons over which the morning stars sang together for joy.

The High Significance of Twentieth Century Preaching.

But this article has over-passed an aspect of preaching amongst us of very great importance, and that is the sermon itself, and the contributions of preaching to the religious intelligence and edification of the English-speaking people. It is difficult to find a single category under which to classify the outstanding preaching of the nineteenth century. It had, on the whole, a prestige now much diminished, but which continued during the memory of those of us who were young when the centuries turned their slow, slow chronological glasses. There was a long ascension of pulpit stars of the first magnitude whose names are an enduring part of homiletic history. The roll calls itself: Chalmers in Scotland; Channing in the United States; Newman, Moseley, Martineau, John Caird, Horace Bushnell, Brooks, Spurgeon, Robertson, Bishop Simpson, Henry Ward Beecher. These are amongst the best-known, though other names of almost equal brilliance could be added. They chose wide-ranging and sovereign themes: "The Expulsive Power of a New Affection"; "Spiritual Freedom"; "The Invisible World"; "The Reversal of Human Judgment"; "The Gentleness of God";

"The Three Crosses on Calvary"; "The Witness of God with our Spirits"; "The Power of an Endless Life"; "The Victory of Faith"; "Corporate Immortality"; "The Pillar in God's Temple"; "Everybody's Sermon"; "Good News". These topics made preaching classic.

Sermons were generally written and, by present-day measurements, impossibly long, but they held congregations enthralled. Such sermons had often superb rhetorical quality, and are real contributions to English and American literature. They are classics in any homiletic anthology. Under Beecher's influence as much, I suppose, as any American preacher (but our national temperament is also responsible) American preaching took on an oratorical flavour which at times had a noble affluence, and at times gave an overstrained and false emotional note to our preaching. The tradition of Bishop Simpson's power over an audience is almost unbelievable, and parallels Whitefield's, but without hysterias. With us in America, this quest for oratorical fullness held into the dawn of the twentieth century. We have now nothing to match it. Sermons have been much shortened; their movement has been quickened; textual and expository preaching is the exception, and direct conversational style, the most difficult of all perfectly to master, and in which British preachers excel, has become the ideal of our younger preachers. Written sermons are not acceptable, though there is a pretty universal use of notes. Volumes of sermons are no longer published in the number and perhaps with the quality of twenty-five years ago. Book-making has become far more costly, and publishers, once solicitous for religious publications, become increasingly cautious. A study of the sermon topics advertised in Saturday issues of metropolitan newspapers reveals no general trend and, though one must say this cautiously, they lack distinction.

This last section has been in some ways an interlude, and probably a better organization of this article would have given it as a general background and introductory place in this study. A fair criticism would be that with the turn of the century, loosely speaking, here in America, as I venture to believe in Great Britain, a homiletic epoch ended.

The Social Gospel.

The rise of the social Gospel followed the adjustments of our theological inheritances to science and higher criticism; in some instances, the same preacher passed from phase to phase. This was particularly true of Washington Gladden, who had a wide-ranging mind, particularly sensitive to changing currents of

religious thought and interest. For the most part, his books were, to begin with, Sunday evening addresses. This gave them an eminently readable style. He wrote with both simplicity and power, rising at times to a very noble but restrained eloquence which, with the modulations of his voice, for he was a marvellous reader, reduced the congregation to awed silence. Three of his books, *Burning Questions*, *Tools and the Man* and *Who Wrote the Bible?* illustrate the wide-fronted action of his mind.

He was one of the group who felt strongly the inequalities and injustices of the contemporary economic and industrial order, and felt—the word is inadequate—that there might be a Christian economic and social order which had, behind and beneath it, the authority and teaching of Jesus Christ—the Kingdom of God. This, men felt, was not only the hereafter; it might be the ‘now’, even in the Scioto Valley. Contemporary American economy was vulnerable to criticism, very vulnerable under many counts. The leaders of finance and industry were equally vulnerable. The times were ripe for a social and economic recasting, or at least a critical examination, and preaching reflected it.

It created its own literature, its own idealisms, its own high expectations of a transformed society. It believed that the Christian Church had the mandate of a transformed society whose realization lay within the power of Christian leaders, Christian teachers, and Christian legislators. This was the aspect of it which has lately brought it under the condemnation of neo-orthodoxy, for which apparently there are no attainable ideals, though the ideal must never be surrendered.

Since this article was written, the writer has read a quite recent life of Lyman Abbott, which deals, amongst many other things, with these phases of American preaching in detail, and with judicial fullness. The book is really a résumé of the advance of the free, inquiring, but still urgent and constructive religious mind, upon the dogmatic inheritances which, for an increasing number, were no longer tenable. And Abbott had an outstanding but by no means an unshared part in the reconciliations of the inherited order with Christian faith. If I may speak in the first person, I have followed such leaders, or at least read their writings through all my active ministerial life. It is hard to find a precise date for these outstanding transitions. If one wanted a culminating date, 1892 might do as well as any. By then, all the contending forces were in full action. As I have read again quotations from Abbott’s writings, teaching and preaching, particularly in the dominion of the relation of evolution to the social Gospel, it is easy, writing detachedly, to understand the reactions against the prophecies, the glowing hopes,

and the far too confident handling of human nature which characterized the liberal mind a half-century ago.

And yet, as I re-live in memory that long period, see myself as I went through it and the goodly fellowship of my fellow travellers, what now seems naive or impossible, seemed to us, as we followed it step by step, well-considered and natural, indeed, wonderful and glowing! And one may, after all, be grateful for having lived through a time when all the horizons of the future were bright with hope and one could still quote

—One God, one law, one element
And one far-off, divine event
To which the whole creātion moves.

It was not difficult to proclaim this social gospel and contrast a possible and potential Christian order with the markedly un-Christian contemporary orders. It was possible to go further and suggest, at least, how the Christian order could be implemented, and outline some of its details. From the beginning, this prophetic preaching, for it found support in the prophets of the Old Testament and the counsels of the New Testament, was considered dangerously subversive. Those who considered it so had not thought of the Gospel as having a bearing upon their mills, their stores, or their security vaults, and every aspect of it evoked a bitter controversy. But the social Gospel brought controversy, or better, lifted controversy to new dimensions no longer theological but involving social and economic relationships, wages, labour unions, work hours, the safety of the labourers themselves, and a general betterment of their condition. There were anticipations of security in old age and against unemployment.

The Social Gospel Reaches an Impasse.

All this brought the laymen into action; they considered such contentions and suggestions an invasion of their own particular provinces, and, so to speak, their own divine right to run their businesses as they pleased. Preachers should stick to the Gospel. For all that, the ideology of the social Gospel registered, and had high authority to support it, glowing expectations to direct it, and a generation of younger preachers who found in it a thrilling material. The difficulty was to implement it, for it meant far-reaching modifications of social and industrial mechanisms. The word 'Leftist' had not yet been coined, but there were equivalents of it, 'Socialist' for example, equally opprobrious. Preachers were told to attend to their proper business, religion—with the assumption that religion could be kept in a water-tight compartment. During these embattled years, it was far easier in some communions to become an economic heretic than a theological heretic. The

implementations of the social Gospel seemed to require fundamental and subversive changes in our economic order, and it still does, and there was neither agreement about the implementations nor power to secure them. This, I suspect, was really the reason why the social Gospel, which promised an enormous transforming power, began presently to yield to other phases.

But it was by no means water poured upon the sand. The *Social Creed* of the Federal Council of Churches, drawn up and adopted in 1907, though bitterly opposed by economic and financial interests, is now almost entirely embodied in national and state legislation. One may eventually believe that the preaching of the social Gospel quickened a social conscience and reached and created an effective public opinion to which legislators were compelled to respond, even though it worked through underground channels.

The reaction against what was the fashion to call the naive idealism of the prophets of the social Gospel—partly under the influence of Continental theologians who had never shared it—produced what, here in America, has been known as ‘neo-orthodoxy.’ This writer does not profess to understand it, but it turned to Thomas Aquinas for the employment of the reason to rationalize a theology which was certainly not entirely rational and, paradoxically enough, resulted in a deep-seated distrust of reason itself.

Faith Meets the Cosmos.

It may be maintained that the free and critical examination of the Christian and even the theistic tradition was leading religious thought into cold and un-sung regions. The vastness of time and space implied overwhelmed the imagination, and inherited religious faith could not fill a cosmos whose distances were measured by light-years and, for many really devout men and women, faith was left suspended in the cosmos. That, if it be true, did not appear often in preaching, and theology was less affected than one would expect, but it did affect philosophy, which sought a wider basis for theism. American neo-orthodoxy was greatly affected, as has been said, by Continental theologians, and they brought with them a vocabulary hitherto strange to American preaching. Part of the power of neo-orthodoxy lay in the strangeness of its vocabulary. We are, after all, rather willing to invest what we cannot understand with awe and wonder.

As a phase, I suppose, of neo-orthodoxy, one must recognize the influence of Kierkegaard, who captured the imagination of our younger theologians, also, one is inclined to believe, though

charitably, because they were searching for new homiletic material and were not averse to a display of erudition. Strange words began to appear in their vocabularies—'existentialism', for example—and certain doctrines were said to be 'vertical'. Reinhold Niebuhr, with his range and brilliancy of mind, cast his spell over sections of Christian thought. He had great power, specifically, over college and university students; certainly because of the brilliant and vigorous movements of his mind, possibly because he reflected and voiced their confusions for them, for it was he who told them that ideals must not be surrendered and cannot be realized, which suited the temper of a disillusioned generation. In general, the preaching which grew out of neo-orthodoxy was too rarefied for the popular mind, though Niebuhr was widely read and quoted. The influence of exiled Continental theologians, who found a gracious and hospitable reception in Union Seminary and some others, was at once definite and indefinite. But at this writing neo-orthodoxy seems to be sharing the fate of the autumn leaves I have been watching through my windows, falling and wind-blown. They supply, it may be, a root-hold for future growth.

Meanwhile, preaching has kept on, strangely unchanged by all these changes. Church attendance grows, and under favouring circumstances, many Protestant churches now have two morning services to meet the needs of over-flowing congregations.

Curative Preaching.

No study like this would be either complete or timely without taking account of a line of preaching difficult to name but easy to recognize. It is much like the 'New Thought' of a long generation ago; it is meant primarily to meet the mental and emotional needs of a deracinated time. It is directed to the individual; its social implications are not too significant, and it is not essentially theological. Its text-books are psychological rather than theological. It deals with fears and complexes; it offers, by the combined grace of God and the efforts of the individual, hope and courage and wisdom in living. It may be criticized as excessively individualistic, but its power, when skilfully done, has arresting popular appeal. One minister who has been taking that line with great success advertises his historic church as the "meeting-place of religion and psychology". Naturally all this has greatly changed ministerial libraries, appealed to experimental youth, and compelled the theological schools to recognize it by offering suitable courses. Our younger ministers are being trained to deal with abnormal or marginal mental conditions. Many of the students in theological schools are offered opportunities to work in mental hospitals.

Issues.

Some of these lines, taken up, followed and discarded, tempt one to call them dead-end streets, or else they lead increasingly into vast and difficult regions, for example, as has been said, the reconciliation of contemporary science with inherited theistic faith demands a mental range granted to very few. The social Gospel faces questions of implementation which, because of the current attitude of the American mind towards subversive influences, has become too hot to the touch to be handled. Current Congressional investigations have, at least, considered an examination of the clergy for subversive thought, and extremists have held the largest body of the communist-minded amongst us to be among Protestant clergy. But even the extremists have hesitated to enter that field of investigation.

The notion that our clergy are subversive is ridiculous, but there must be amongst us the feeling that so much in our social and political order is fundamentally incompatible with the Christian order of the Sermon on the Mount, that a passage at arms between Senator McCarthy's Committee and a representative group of ministers—deeply distressed in a distressed world—would be on lines so different as to make mutual understanding almost impossible. At any rate, the investigators drew back, sensing perhaps the force and significance of what they were really challenging.

Homiletic Roads

Years ago, I read a book of delightful English essays. I have lost the book and forgotten the author's name, but I do remember an essay about the charm of the old roads. They have grown and multiplied and changed so much. They began as footpaths, perhaps, from farmstead to farmstead, village to village, with perhaps the parish church and lone shops along narrow streets as their terminals. Your survey maps still show them, ghost paths sometimes, or foot-paths weaving their fabric of human fellowship across your landscape.

Then wheels came, and in due time, stage-coaches, and the roads began to be widened and straightened a little, but still serving homely and neighbourly needs. Then the stage-coach asked for wider and still straighter roads, and the remote began to be by-passed. Then the motor-car demanded its own right-of-way, grew impatient of old, winding, narrow streets, and arterial highways began to by-pass towns and even cities. Only the great terminals were sought. We are doing the same thing and the demands and displacements of these arterial highways begin to re-cast the landscape.

Preaching, I take it, has been a good deal like that. It, too, began with the simple and the intimate and the near to life; then it began to carry another traffic and it, too, by-passes burning questions which it cannot answer. But there is always something else. Roads, being part of the structure of Mother Earth itself, tend to follow across the ages the structural lines of relationship and need which first demanded them. Even the airways follow, though incredibly distantly, our old Indian trails. Preaching is like that, and, in the main, each of these phases has left preaching and preachers an enriched homiletic inheritance. They have become part of our literature, and our minds, and our messages. Some of them seem to have gone underground, but they feed the old and immemorial currents of Christian preaching, and phase by phase, they are still open, every one of them, to the accents of the Living Word, and whether one take the foot-path or the sky-way, they may still lead us to the Way, the Truth, and the Life of Jesus Christ.

By Way of Conclusion.

I do not for a moment assume that these phases are peculiar to our American preaching. They have been aspects of English-speaking preaching longer than they have been aspects of ours. But I think it possible that we have taken them one by one, with more definite concentration than your British preachers have. You have always had a wider back-ground: I mean, you have not depended, so much as our American preachers, upon the partially ephemeral. We are much given to topical preaching, and our topics tend to reflect the headlines of our newspapers. British preaching has been, and I suspect still continues to be, textual or expository. The result is, or has been, that our preaching has been more affected by changes in the popular mind or interest than has yours.

But after all, what happens to you happens to us, and your pulpits and our pulpits reflect it. I think you have kept your churches more basically to the concerns of religion than we have, but my own touch with British preaching has grown remote, and I submit these final paragraphs for any correction or evaluation you care to make.¹

¹ This article is a fuller treatment of an editorial note in *The Minister's Quarterly* under the same title.—Ed.

THE QUMRÂN (DEAD SEA) SCROLLS: A SURVEY

BY BLEDDYN J. ROBERTS, M.A., D.D.

EVERYONE knows something of the story of the 1947 discovery of Hebrew manuscripts in a cave at 'Ain Feshkha near the Dead Sea and of the debates they inspired in both professional and amateur circles. But the more recent discoveries relating to the scrolls, though they are more important, and, in some ways, more sensational than the first, seem to have passed generally unnoticed in this country, and the only publicity given to them, so far as I am aware, is in the excellent reports in *The Manchester Guardian*, contributed from time to time by its Paris correspondent, Mr. Darcy Gillie. More detailed accounts, however, appear in the quarterly publication of the Dominican scholars in Jerusalem, the *Revue Biblique*, especially those contributed by Father R. de Vaux, who has been prominently associated with the scrolls since the early reports of their discovery. Learned journals in all countries, however, are already printing reviews and discussions of the more recent finds.

Of course, articles and even complete books, dealing with a great variety of topics arising from the earlier finds, are continuing to appear, and are now assuming a prominent part in bibliographies on Biblical topics. In his recent book *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Blackwell, 1952) Professor H. H. Rowley includes in his bibliography over five hundred items which deal directly with this subject, and, according to a more recent addition which Professor Rowley has kindly shown me, a further two hundred can be included. In the present article I do not intend to survey all the current literature, but simply to indicate one or two of the more interesting features from the standpoint of the general reader. Despite some attempts to belittle the scrolls, the fact does remain that they are a sensational discovery, and have special importance for the working minister and for the interested layman, provided it be allowed that the Christian Faith is to be enriched not only by speculative philosophy and the teaching of dogma, but also by a better understanding of the history of the Faith and of the period of its Founder.

For a reconstruction of that history we have hitherto been mainly dependent on the New Testament, supplemented by secondary information from such sources as the historical writings

of Josephus, the metaphysical allegorizations of Philo, the Rabbinical hair-splitting in the Mishnah, and the very amorphous apocalyptic writings in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. This last body of literature is likely to gain considerably in importance as a result of the discovery, for not only have fragments of it turned up in the scrolls but also the literature of the scrolls generally shows strong affinities with it. At the same time, there are considerable differences, and whereas one would hope to find further light in the scrolls on the enigma of the term 'Son of Man' in *Enoch*, the fact is that as yet the scrolls contain no reference at all to it. But at least the scrolls have provided us with a body of literature which is certain to illuminate the first century of our era, and, consequently, our understanding of Christ and the religious background of His life and teaching.

I should stress at the outset that I cannot subscribe to the theory that tries to identify, or even to approximate in any close way, the sect of the scrolls and the Early Church. We have known since very early in the discussions about the scrolls that the sect spoke of a Messiah of Aaron and Israel, and whatever we might be uncertain about in the story of Jesus of Nazareth, we can surely accept the definition that He was the Messiah son of David: that is, historically there can be no identity between them. Nevertheless, so strong are the similarities in many points of practice and belief between them, that one British scholar, who is not without a following and whose views have been given considerable publicity, has gone so far as to advocate the notion that the title, 'Son of David', is a late forgery in the Gospels. The real indication of the similarity with the Early Church, however, is the increasing realization that the major contribution of the scrolls is to the study of the New Testament rather than of the Old.

Tentative attempts to identify the sect of the scrolls have been numerous, but the later discoveries seem to be helpful in settling the disputes, and permit me to introduce a brief description. It had been remarked at a fairly early stage that not far from the cave of 'Ain Feshkha there lay a previously known but unexcavated ruin. In November-December 1951 this location, known as Khirbet Qumrân, was examined by experts. It turned out to be a rectangular building, some 90 feet by 120, with numerous rooms, and near by a cemetery containing about 1,100 graves. There was also an aqueduct leading to a wady. In the vicinity were about 25 caves which showed signs of use as dwelling places or, as did the cave where the first discovery was made, for keeping—or hiding—manuscripts. There were five such caves with literary remains strewn over the floor, mostly in fragments. The main building had apparently been in occupation during three distinct periods,

and the contents provide in fair abundance those data which enable archaeologists to make their deductions — ceramics, coins, and scraps of various kinds, especially inscribed potsherds, and, significantly, a couple of ink-pots which agree well with the considerable scribal activity which must have been carried on at the place. Some of the coins bear dates ranging from the late second century B.C. to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Among the inscribed pottery is a piece with the Hebrew alphabet written out in full in a script similar to that of the scrolls.

The early information about this discovery was given by Mr. Lankester Harding, who has charge of the Department of Antiquities in the Hashimite kingdom of Jordan, in whose territory all the discoveries have been made. According to this information, remains of seventy scrolls were found in the caves, including fragments of thirty-eight scrolls bearing texts from nineteen books from the Old Testament, and other pieces of known and unknown books from the *Apocrypha* and *Pseudepigrapha*. Among the more important of these is a portion of *Leviticus* in the archaic Hebrew script—it will be remembered that in the 1947 discovery there were also portions of *Leviticus* in this script—and also some fragments of a Greek translation of the Old Testament in a version different from the Septuagint. Considerable interest, too, attaches to a copper roll with Hebrew writing, but owing to oxidization, the roll has not yet been sufficiently uncovered to allow it to be fully described, though it has been established that it is not a Biblical text. A plausible suggestion is that the roll consists of a copy of the regulations of the sect, to be nailed up somewhere in the main building.

Now it is known that one sect of the Jews inhabited this area during the first century A.D., namely the Essenes. Indeed, most commentators had been asserting, even before the recent discoveries, that only the Essenes could satisfactorily answer the question of identity. At the same time, there are considerable differences between what we previously knew of the Essenes, from the writings of Josephus and Philo, and what we read in the scrolls, but, with the help of the ruins of Khirbet Qumrân, many of these differences may now be resolved.

But that is not the whole story of the recent discoveries. In 1951 some bedouin started selling in Jerusalem and Bethlehem some manuscripts which they said came from the 'Ain Feshkha caves. It was evident, however, from the script and other features, that the manuscripts were not from the same cache as the 1947 manuscripts, and search was made slightly further afield. As a result, in a region some ten or twelve miles behind Khirbet Qumrân, two groups of caves were discovered, many of them with

manuscript remains. They are known as Wady Murabba'at and Wady en Nâr respectively.

Before proceeding to discuss them, however, I should mention that archaeologists stress that neither of these two groups has anything to do with the Khirbet Qumrân caves (including the first, which is still known as 'Ain Feshkha). For future reference, one or two points should be borne in mind. Firstly, the locality of each group of caves must be clearly distinguished. Secondly, the nomenclature of the scrolls will necessarily have to be revised. During the earlier phases various names, such as 'Jerusalem scrolls', 'Judean scrolls', 'Ta'amire scrolls', 'hidden scrolls', were gradually dropped in favour of the American title, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls'. But obviously this term has now become ambiguous, since it fails to distinguish between the three quite distinct groups of manuscripts. Father de Vaux suggests using the initial consonants of the various localities to indicate the groups, thus Q(umrân) for the first, M(urabba'at) for the second and N(âr) for the third. Unfortunately this scheme will become very complicated, for it is further suggested that it should be amplified to include other details. Thus, the fragment of a commentary (*peshet*) on Psalm lxxviii found in the first (1947) cave at 'Ain Feshkha, will be designated 1QpPs68!

But to return to the non-Qumrân caves. The discoveries at Wady Murabba'at are in many ways the more interesting. The settlement consists of four caves, and shows signs of having been inhabited at various times, covering many centuries, and archaeologists refer to four main periods, the chalcolithic, bronze, iron and Roman. Bits of Biblical manuscripts were found in the caves, including leather fragments of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Deuteronomy*, *Isaiah*, but there are reasons for assuming that they are later than the Qumrân Biblical texts. A complete phylactery in leather is also among the remains. In all cases, it is reported, the text agrees with the Massoretic, orthographic variants excepted. Other texts are of a private or administrative nature, mostly written in a cursive script very difficult to decipher. Another group of manuscripts, papyrus fragments, is especially interesting, for they refer to "the deliverance of Israel by Simeon bar Kozabah, prince of Israel". This, of course, refers to the second Jewish Revolt in A.D. 132-5, whose leader, bar Kokhba, was also known as ben (or bar) Kozabah. Two other letters are written by bar Kozabah himself, and are directed to a Jeshua ben Gilgola, who appears to have been a camp commander. This person, too, received a communication, duly witnessed, from two administrators, intimating that the bearer of the letter, a certain Joseph ben Ariston, was the owner of a cow which he was driving home

through the encampment. Among non-Hebrew writings found in the caves are two contracts written in Greek, relating to some matrimonial affairs: one of them, dealing with a marital reconciliation, is dated in the seventh year of Hadrian, i.e. A.D. 124. Another fragment, written in Latin, is likewise to be dated in the second century A.D.

One cave at Wady en Nâr (which is the Biblical Brook Kidron) has produced a number of papyrus fragments from the fifth to the eighth century A.D., which consist of private letters in Arabic, fragments in uncial Greek of portions of the *Book of Wisdom* and of the New Testament, viz., *Mark*, *John*, *Acts*, and some fragments of Biblical palimpsests in Syriac.

Meantime, the manuscripts of the 1947 discovery are being issued in facsimile form, and it is hoped that the scrolls acquired by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem will be available during the present year. Translations and discussions of the texts are also available, and in the remainder of this article I shall try to outline the main trends in the debate. The topics cover, of course, a vast range of studies. There are still some outstanding questions concerning the discovery itself, for the indefatigable editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* has not ceased to cast doubts on its authenticity, though he no longer refers to a "modern hoax". There is also the awkward though highly important fact that two manuscripts, known as the Damascus Documents, which obviously belong to the sect and which have appeared in part in the Qumrân caves, were already discovered in 1895/6 in the Genizah of a synagogue in Cairo. A shrewd observation by Professor Otto Eissfeldt in 1949 called attention to a letter, published early in this century, which describes the discovery of a cave with Biblical manuscripts near the Dead Sea *circa* A.D. 800, and suggested that possibly the Damascus Documents were connected with that discovery. We now know, however, that there were near the Dead Sea a goodly number of caves with Biblical manuscripts, and, since the above-mentioned letter was written by a Christian, it is at least as likely that the Damascus Documents were discovered on another occasion and were retained in the hands of Karaites, who have played an important part in the history of the textual transmission of the Old Testament.

Such problems, however, relate to the discovery and/or to the deposit of the scrolls in the caves: problems arising out of content and interpretation, on the other hand, relate to such questions as the date of composition, the historical setting, the religio-theological teaching and the textual nature of the Biblical texts. Of these, the historical question seems to have assumed priority. In the absence of direct indications—not, however, always acknowledged!—is it

possible to interpret the texts against a reconstructable historical background? The answer, of course, has been an overwhelming Yes! But the divergences between the various 'histories' are very disconcerting. At one time it appeared well nigh impossible to provide a coherent picture, and Professor Driver went so far as to say that the theories cancelled one another out! Though there is considerable truth in this view, there is one point on which most commentators are agreed, namely, that in general the period involved is that from the Maccabean rising to the early Roman occupation, i.e., from c. 165 to c. 40 B.C.

Any minister who, in his theological training, has tried to puzzle out the Jewish history of this period will know how difficult it is to reconstruct, what with internal conflicts and factions, and attacks, military and cultural, from without, and cross-currents from both. These difficulties are enhanced when we come to the scrolls, for there are but few historical allusions in them, and they are generally camouflaged. Moreover, some of the literary conventions adopted in the scrolls are largely unknown to us. It is thus inevitable that hypothetical interpretations of persons and events are confusing and contradictory. The one scholar who has been able to reduce the bewildering chaos is Professor H. H. Rowley in his book mentioned above, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, and I am not alone in saying that this book is a pattern of clarity in development and of fairness (though not necessarily soft words!) to views different from his own.

Rowley's conclusion is that the most satisfactory setting is the early second century B.C., with the events leading up to and including the Maccabean revolt: at the same time he allows the force of the arguments for identifying the sect with the Essenes. It might appear discomfiting to this view that the only known descriptions of the Essenes suggest that they flourished at a period later than that postulated for the theory, but Rowley counters by suggesting that the Essenes "are here seen at an earlier stage of their history". But this is speculation. I have mentioned that, in view of the recent examination of Khirbet Qumrân, the sect was the Essenes: it might also be that the Essenes were descended from the Hasidim who flourished in Maccabean times, but it is equally possible that the Hasidim branched out into a number of parties, of whom the Essenes were only one. There are, indeed, a number of scholars who advocate a period somewhat later than that argued by Rowley, namely, the time of the Roman occupation of Judea, during the second half of the first century B.C. And in many ways this period has much in its favour, not the least being its suitability for the identity of the sect with the Essenes as we already know them.

One of the crucial points in the problem is the interpretation of the term, 'Khittim,' which occurs frequently in the scrolls. In the so-called scroll of *Warfare between the Children of Light and of Darkness* we have references to the Khittim of Assyria and of Egypt, and it seems reasonable to deduce that they indicate the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. In another scroll, however, which contains a commentary on the prophecy of *Habakkuk*, the Khittim 'come from the isles of the sea,' have a cult of *signa* (worship of military standards) and exact annual tribute. Professor A. Dupont-Sommer of Paris has argued in a number of books and articles (especially *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 1950, English translation by Miss E. Margaret Rowley, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Blackwell, 1952; and *Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 1953), for the identity of the Khittim in this scroll with the Romans, and he sees in another passage a direct reference to the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in B.C. 63. A most attractive feature of these books, which has lost nothing in Miss Rowley's English translation of the first, is the rendering of the original texts and, though a recent warning should be repeated that Dupont-Sommer sometimes reads into the text the interpretation that best suits his own theories, it is in these translations that the average reader obtains the most vivid renderings up to date. Among other scholars who have advocated a date in the Roman period are Professors M. H. Segal, W. H. Brownlee (who first issued the text and a translation of the scroll), and recently K. Elliger, who, in a 300-page study of the commentary (1953), finds its setting in the time of Hyrcanus, High Priest in Jerusalem (with interruptions) from 76 to 40 B.C.

Whatever the outcome of the debate on history and date might be, we are now able to visualize the general pattern of the sect. Khirbet Qumrân helps us to reconstruct the conditions and ways of living, and the neighbouring cemetery, obviously too large to have been used merely by local inhabitants in such a barren district, was the burial place of the sect's adherents, brought thither from afar to be given a ceremonial burial at the party's convent. That the sect led a well-organized life is shown by the *Manual of Discipline*, another of the 'Ain Feshkha scrolls, which in 1951 was issued in facsimile and in translations by Professor W. H. Brownlee of the U.S.A. and others. The members swore fidelity to the party in an annual festival; they pooled their possessions during their membership, though, unlike the Early Church, there was a graded period of novitiate and full membership. There were three degrees of membership, Priests, Levites and laymen, and there were other officers, camp-supervisors and teachers, whose catechumens were assembled daily in groups of ten.

The teaching of the sect appears to have been clearly formulated at an early stage in its history, and was strictly enforced, for any tendency to heresy was punished with temporary or complete expulsion. Here, again, affinities with the New Testament are obvious, for we are reminded of the concern for orthodoxy shown especially by the Pastoral Epistles.

The most prominent feature of the community's teaching is its apocalyptic interpretation of Biblical texts, and fresh compositions which were largely apocalyptic in nature. There are now extant specimen interpretations of both Prophets and Writings for, in addition to the full treatment of *Habakkuk*, fragments of similar treatments of *Micah* have been found, and also of *Psalms* lxxviii and cvii. The discovery of the *Habakkuk* scroll, however, is of the greatest value, for it is an almost complete specimen of the type of thing they did. There has been considerable discussion about the correct way to describe the work—whether it should be called a commentary or a *midrash*, and the ambiguous word 'interpretation' is used here mainly because it avoids the issue and, at the same time, indicates one of the major features. In the above-mentioned complete study of the scroll, Professor Elliger argues that the interpretation obviously follows a fixed pattern, which was already fixed prior to the composition of this commentary. The Bible text is given *seriatim*, in passages of varying length, and is applied to the circumstances which obtained in the contemporary history of the sect. On the whole, the interpreter adheres strictly to the text of the prophecy, but, at the same time, he exercises the greatest freedom with its context. As Elliger says, it is not so much the context of a passage that determines its meaning, but the context of the commentary: that is, the interpreter himself reads into the passage according to the light of the sect's history. This does not necessarily imply that he violates the meaning of the original, but that he makes an explicit statement of equation. The hermeneutics, then, reveal two things: firstly, that the prophet's announcements concern not his own time and circumstances but eschatology, and secondly, that the eschatology is happening in the interpreter's own time and in no other. Thus, apropos of *Habakkuk's* oracle in i, 5, "you will not believe though you hear it", the comment (reconstructed by Elliger) is "the meaning of the word refers to the seceders at the end of the time." Again, and more clearly, apropos of ii, 1f., "the explanation is . . . And God told *Habakkuk* to write the things which are to happen to the last generation, but the consummation He did not reveal to him." To demonstrate the second point, reference is made to the comment on *Habakkuk* ii, 4b ("The righteous shall live through his faith," says the prophet), and the interpreter adds, "The explanation of this refers to all those

who practise the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the House of Judgment because of their affliction and their faith in the Righteous Teacher." It should be explained that the Righteous Teacher is the founder of the sect to whom, according to another passage in the scroll, "God had made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets." Again, the term 'Khittim', to which reference has already been made, is used in a typically eschatological sense: they are the agents who bring about the agony of the present time, and consequently hasten the apocalyptic deliverance of the believers. That seems to be their function, and consequently, at least as I see the point, in the *Warfare* scroll they refer to the Seleucids and Ptolemies, whereas in the *Habakkuk* scroll they are the Romans.

The commentary shows invariably a practical and pastoral purpose. The community, because it is suffering in the final throes of the pre-apocalyptic phase, must be encouraged to hold out. Consequently the force of the interpretation is that all the suffering that has been endured is according to divine plan, and the dénouement, too, is in God's hand. Judgment will overtake the villainous 'Wicked Priest', the opponent of the 'Righteous Teacher': hell-fire will consume all those who have brought suffering on God's elect: the idolatrous, and with them the Khittim, only hasten the punishment. "If it tarries, wait for it: it will surely come, and it will not be delayed," says the prophet (ii, 3b), and, the comment proceeds, "the explanation of this refers to the Men of Truth, who practise the Law, whose hands do not relax in the service of truth, when the consummation is delayed for them: for all the times of God arrive in their due season, in accordance with what He has decreed about them in the mysteries of His Prudence." These and similar 'equations' indicate the measure of the agony suffered by the Community in those days, and also the quality of this very remarkable product of Biblical interpretation. It is not unimportant that the technical word for 'interpretation', *peshet*, is also the word used in the book of Daniel for the interpretation of dreams, those hidden oracles of salvation. Likewise, the word of God in the prophetic oracles, and in the Psalms, was capable, under the pressure of agony and of apocalyptic hopes, of supplying a similar solution.

This idea of a solution and equation, and the frequent use of the term 'mystery' in the scrolls assume a further significance when we view the teaching of the scrolls as a whole. It is well known that a contemporary, if not a complementary, aspect of apocalyptic writing is Gnosticism: and the scrolls show a very strong element of Gnosticism. In the *Habakkuk* commentary the Righteous Teacher learns, by revelation, the esoteric secrets of salvation, and it is he,

and he alone, who can describe them. But the significant feature of Gnostic teaching in the scrolls is the prominence given to ethical dualism. In the *Manual of Discipline* particularly, dualism has a special importance, for, in some forty lines of this scroll (col. 3, line 13 to col. 4, line 24) we have what almost appears to be an excursus on the topic. It begins by asserting that "God created man for dominion over the world, and assigned him two spirits by which to walk until the time of His visitation. They are the spirits of truth and of perversion. . . . In the hand of the Prince of Light is the rule over all the sons of righteousness: they walk in the ways of Light. But in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is all the rule over the sons of perversion, and they walk in the ways of darkness." Because of this element of dualism, and especially because of some of the terms used here, it is easy to suggest that another of the scrolls, the *Warfare between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*, is also to be understood as Gnostic writing. The alternative is to regard it as historical writing, and to try to interpret the camouflaged parties and the historical occasion. In favour of the latter is the fact already mentioned that in the scroll the term 'Khittim' seems to refer to the Seleucid-Ptolemaic enemies of Israel. But the incomplete publication of this scroll makes it necessary to postpone any final verdict.

The New Testament and its complementary literature, of course, have already partly familiarized us with Jewish Gnosticism, though it has not always been possible to distinguish between it and Hellenistic accretions. Thanks to the scrolls, however, it seems now to be more possible to recognize the true elements of Jewish Gnosticism, and to realize the strength in it of the ethical flavour which is in keeping with some Psalms and the Book of *Proverbs*. Whether or not we shall be able to identify its provenance still remains to be seen, and hitherto articles devoted to the subject vacillate between Zoroastrian dualism on the one hand and Stoic teaching on the other. But a recent article by Professor Kurt Schubert of Vienna ('Der Sektenkanon von En Feshcha und die Anfänge der jüdischen Gnosis.' *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, Aug.-Sept., 1953) has served a useful purpose by emphasizing the degree of independent thought in Jewish Gnosticism as shown in the scrolls. This is particularly clear in the fact that the dualism is not absolute, as in both Persian and Greek thought, but relative. There is nothing in it to suggest that the wicked (or material, as in Hellenistic Gnosticism) are beyond God's control, for it is He who, through Wisdom, created the world. The wicked are responsible to God, and are brought to judgment to suffer the punishment ordained for them by God. "From the God of knowledge", says the *Manual of Discipline*, "exists all that is and all that will be. Before they

existed He established all the design of them. And after they exist, according to their ordinances, they fulfil their task, and nothing can be changed." (Brownlee's translation.)

A similar basic responsibility by God for good and for evil is assuredly presupposed by the New Testament, and the relevance of the scrolls is certainly enhanced as a consequence. At the same time, however, we must not lose sight of the very important differences between them, especially the New Testament doctrine of Christ, and the divinity of His person, as opposed to the strict monotheism of the scrolls.

Thus, to sum up, in at least two supremely important respects the scrolls serve the student of Judaism, and, particularly, of the Early Church with fundamental questions. When the Gospels appeal to the prophets and their foretelling, were the authors adopting a method of equating text and fulfilment in a way which is paralleled in the Habakkuk scroll? In the New Testament version of Gnosticism, how far removed are we in the content of the teaching, from the ethical Gnosticism of the Two Ways of Living in the *Manual of Discipline*?

Finally, and very briefly, I must refer to the Biblical texts and especially the Isaiah scrolls. Opinions concerning them have followed a very interesting course. At first, scholars were enthusiastic about the measure of agreement between the text of the scrolls and the Massoretic: then the extent of divergences pointed to the conclusion that the texts of the scrolls represent a popular text-form, similar to hundreds of others, from which the Massoretic text finally emerged as the standard text-form: still more recently, however, it has been suggested that behind this *vulgärtext* lies a text-form closely approximating to the present Massoretic text, but, obviously antecedent to it, if a date prior to 70 A.D. be postulated for the scrolls. This would imply that the present Massoretic text is a form which, to all intents and purposes, agrees with its pre-Massoretic phase, and to this extent, the scrolls, despite their textual variations, testify to the probable soundness of the Massoretic tradition as representing and transmitting a pre-Christian standard Hebrew text. But what further modifications of this view might have to be introduced because of additional texts and the discovery of Greek texts, is, of course, beyond anyone's guess.

IN SPAIN, A.D. 1900

BY SYDNEY H. MOORE, M.A.

THIS great anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society¹ brings to life many varied recollections of the time (alas, well over half a century ago) when I had the honour to be, in a very small way, their agent in a Spanish city. Badajoz was in 1900 a very lonely place, well off the track of such tourists as then existed, and without either a Protestant church or, as far as I could ever discover, Protestant inhabitants. It was a sleepy, sun-drenched town of (including the garrison) about 40,000 people. It had but few connections with the nearest place of importance, Elvas, the frontier town of Portugal, some four miles away, perched high on the hills looking down at us across the mile-broad Guadiana.

School life filled up only a fraction of one's day: in the morning from 5.0 to 8.0 and in the evening from 6.30 to 8.0. But the strangeness of life in general brought long, long thoughts. To one who had been brought up as a 'twicer' at church and a regular attender of the Sunday School the total lack of religious instruction available was nothing less than staggering. A census I took during eight successive weeks in the twenty-seven churches of the city brought to light an amazing fact. Clearly had one sermon been preached on Sunday in each of them, the inhabitants could have heard some exposition of Christian truth two hundred and sixteen times. But during those eight weeks in all those churches *two* sermons only were given: one on the virtues of the Virgin Mary (quite good from the Roman point of view), the other on legendary adventures of the Apostle Andrew (non-religious nonsense)!

There were other distressing features of life down there. One noticed people flocking to certain churches from time to time—it was on the day when a board had been hung up with the inscription in chalk: *Hoy se sacan almas* (Today souls are pulled out). For a small payment you could obtain a short furlough from purgatory for your grandfather, for a large payment a longer liberation.

The Mayor of Albuera, as we rode across the battlefield through scores of cranes standing at attention watching us without any sign of fear, spoke to me about the books I was carrying. He asked me if this Jesus, about whom my books told, were a Londoner and if he lived there now! The date was October, 1900.

¹ The Society was inaugurated at a meeting held in London on 7th March, 1804.

Outside the Cathedral door was fixed a metal box, in shape and appearance like the blue post-boxes one sees in France. This was stated to have been placed there under the aegis of the Archbishop and to contain one numbered ticket for a seat in heaven. For a *perro gordo* (1d.) you might get it. I have seen boys on their birthdays go there with a pocketful of pence, but I never saw them draw anything but blank tickets.

Deaths seemed to be very frequent, owing to the heat, lack of sanitation, etc. No week went by without a cortège, sometimes of great length and often to the music of a military band, passing along the Calle Menacho in front of our school. And on all hands people were downcast—in the recent war with America Spain had lost countless possessions, treasure, human lives. One began to wonder if there were not some truth in what Borrow had once written: "Spain is a country in which no foreigner settles without dying of a broken heart sooner or later."

A letter to the leader of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Madrid soon brought me a bale of pamphlets, Scripture leaflets and Gospels. Immediately the days became full and distribution was much helped by what was, I think, the first safety bicycle the old Guadiana fortress had ever seen. One had only to ride into a village and the bicycle itself gathered a crowd. After answering many questions about it, one would read or tell a story—that of the sower, the prodigal son, the brigands on the Jericho road. Questions and comments from the crowd afterwards shewed in every case that that particular story had been listened to for the first time. Then followed the distribution; quite often the cook from the priest's house would be the first purchaser. And then, best of all, as one rode away with empty knapsack, was the sight of readers all up and down the village, especially the youngsters who had learnt at school, slowly spelling out the amazing Word (so well-known to us but so novel to them) to some illiterate parent or grandparent: it was publicly stated that, at the turn of the century, eight brides in every ten were unable to sign the marriage register.

One of the freshest memories I have of those days is of a railway trip from Badajoz to Seville. Stops were made at stately Merida, at Montijo, Almendralejo, Zafra (where my pocket was picked of every penny I had . . . happily on the return journey) and at Llerena, that collection of hoary monastic buildings which had been the G.H.Q. of the Spanish Inquisition. At each of these great crowds assembled round my window to obtain the neat illustrated *libritos* with which the Bible Society had equipped me. I can see now the stationmaster of Almendralejo forcing his way through the blocks of people in order to beg me, most courteously, to suspend my labours, since it was over half an hour past the time when the

train should have left ! To see a long open carriage, such as we used to have on the London Underground, in every compartment of which folk were eagerly reading the Bible for the first time made a picture one would have liked to hang on the walls of the Society in Queen Victoria Street.

Consequent on the disasters of the Spanish-American War Carlist agents abounded in Estremadura and Andalusia, as doubtless in the other great provinces. This complicated matters considerably for an amateur colporteur. He was talking one day to a Herculean blacksmith in the neighbourhood of Olivenza. Suddenly, without a word, the smith neatly tripped him, pushed him into a dark corner of the smithy behind the door and planted on his chest a mighty, quite unremovable, foot. There it remained, notwithstanding all the struggles and furious language of the man lying amid the soot and charcoal. The click of a horse's hoofs was heard approaching, a greeting from the driver was responded to by the blacksmith's gracious *Buenos dias, Senor*; then as the trap disappeared, the foot was removed and explanations followed. He apologized to me most humbly for his act of apparent discourtesy; he had a brush with which he would dust down my clothes; he was sure I should understand when he told me that the man in the trap was the Provincial Inspector of Police. Then it came out that this two-eyed Vulcan believed the harmless British and Foreign's publications to be Carlist propaganda, with which he himself sympathized, for had he not "buried beneath that hearthstone" a score of rifles with all necessary ammunition? He had acted for the best; would not the English *senor* have done the same for him?

Not all encounters however turned out such *choses pour rire*. One Sunday evening after a roasting day three priests were taking the air down near the river, along with many people from the city; they were sitting on the rocks up which our army under Beresford stormed the fortress in 1811. On being offered copies of St. John's Gospel, the senior of the trio replied gruffly, *Los hemos visto* (we have seen them before) and threw his copy on the ground. But a few days later there appeared in the local daily, *La Revista de Badajoz*, a paragraph which ran: "We have heard that two days ago a foreigner was distributing among the country and townsfolk some small books. Have the police any knowledge of these books? Why do they not bestir themselves to find out whence they come?"

The police were not anxious to intervene, for a few days earlier they had arrested me and kept me prisoner for three hours on a charge so ridiculous that they had had to take no end of pains to keep it out of the Madrid papers and about which the whole town had roared with laughter. However, one morning about ten o'clock, when our Bond Street, the Calle de San Juan, was

crowded, a very civil *Guardia Civil* tapped the Englishman on the shoulder and politely requested his presence at the headquarters of the police. There he was asked whether he had as a matter of fact distributed such *libritos*? 'Yes!' Had he any copies left? 'Yes!' Where? 'In my room at the Academia Politécnica'. Would the senior mind fetching them and submitting them for inspection? 'No, certainly not'. Dismissed, I made my way back to school—most criminally, in very leisurely fashion, for the day was what they called a Sahara day (when the hot Sahara winds blew across the Straits and made the south of Spain like a gridiron) and I saw that the Guardia was following, though making every effort to remain out of sight. Once in the Academy a parcel was made up of every type of book and leaflet I had—again most leisurely, for the Guardia could be seen grilling half way down the Calle at an hour when all self-respecting citizens were beginning their long siesta. After about an hour I again made my way to the police station, where I was amazed to find myself suddenly locked up in the foulest room I have ever seen. Down the middle of it ran a deep stream of filth which in such heat gave out a stench of unspeakable vileness. It had high walls, no windows or ventilation, and was roofed over with flat sheets of glass. The whole power of that all but African sky seemed to be concentrated on that glass and thence on to the prisoner, who sought vainly some corner or projection affording shade. An hour of such confinement was enough to bowl over anyone, but it was four or five hours before the door was unlocked and I was ordered to come up and appear before the court. That day the *magistrados* were not sitting but the great Provincial Court of Badajoz had met and, having adjudicated on several cases connected with Carlism, had expressed the desire to deal with this one. Three learned Estremaduran judges sat in state upon the Bench. I refused to enter the prisoners' box, maintaining that I was neither condemned nor to my knowledge accused of any crime; the senior judge admitted this and gave permission that I should stand outside the box. After the usual routine questions I was asked whether I had brought specimens of the whole of the literature I was circulating and whether I had an objection to any of it being read to the Court. I said I had brought specimens of everything, had no objection to any or all of them being read there, and followed this up with a request that I might read aloud any one they desired. To this the presiding judge agreed at once with evident relief and sent the usher to pick something out of my parcel. As it happened, the usher did not choose any book or portion of Scripture, but a tract of a very evangelical type, bearing the title, 'He redeemed me' (*El me redimió*). This, amid a very great stillness, I was enabled to read, 'so that all the Gentiles might

hear'. As the reading went on, the evening light, falling on the intelligent faces of the judges, showed upon each a certain unrest, and when I requested permission to read others in order to show there was no political propaganda-material in my possession, the judges hastily shook their heads. After conferring together the presiding judge said they were quite satisfied, and the Englishman might go. The Englishman, however, was by no means satisfied, and asked what compensation he was to receive. 'Compensation for what?' asked the judge. It was pointed out to him that a subject of the Queen of England had been arrested in full view of a crowded Calle San Juan, that he had been kept a prisoner for nearly five hours in a loathsome cloaca, and that his further employment in the city would be precarious.

A more prolonged consultation now followed between the men of law. Finally their leader addressed me. There could be no compensation other than the apologies he now proffered me, but I should leave the Court without a stain on my character and he hoped that the press, which had circulated reflections thereon, would give equal prominence to what he himself was now saying. That was the end—though one of my happiest recollections is of a remark made to an officer in the army by one of the judges (it was repeated to me afterwards by the officer, a pupil of mine), that he had only heard of one such case ever appearing at that court. His grandfather, also a judge some sixty or seventy years back, had told him of it. It seems they had had another mad Englishman before them, charged with the same offence, who had treated the judges "with the same bravado." A careful examination of dates showed that the Englishman could scarcely have been any other than George Borrow!

That is my last memory of days spent in the wonderland of Spain, that land of mystery and beauty, of majestic cathedrals and orange groves and golden rivers, of old and forgotten things. It is still a backward country, despite all the efforts made to advance it by men like Francisco Giner, Miguel de Unamuno and José Ortega y Gasset and, in another field, by the Fliedners, grandfather, father and son, in Madrid. Ortega described his fellow-countrymen as "not so much a people as a cloud of dust that was left hovering in the air when a great people went galloping down the high road of history."² But when the day of re-awakening comes, two elements will be found at the very heart of that resurrection: the fine educational work of the three Fliedners and, pre-eminently, the silent but irresistible influence of the deathless Word of God, so loyally and so bravely disseminated by the untiring perseverance of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

² *Invertebrate Spain*. London, 1937, p. 41.

THE APOSTLE TO THE PARISIANS: ROBERT WHITAKER McALL

By JESSIE FORSYTH ANDREWS, M.A.

“CHACUN a deux pays : le sien, et puis la France”—Every man has two countries—his own, and France. I do not know who first uttered that aphorism; there was a time when it might have been attributed, in its English form, to Sir Winston Churchill. Be that as it may, I know of only one man who did more than invent it—he lived it. And he was, to his life’s end, a Congregational minister. He was Robert Whitaker McAll, who lived from 1821 to 1893.

His story is unusual, because he spent more than two-thirds of his life in vigorous and valuable work before he found his true vocation when he was fifty. True, up to that point it was, except in one respect, a normal hard-working ministerial life in half a dozen churches in city, town or village. The one abnormal thing was the shortness of some of his pastorates, especially latterly. And the reason for that was that they were not his true *milieu*, though he did not realize it. His true field, as surely as William Booth’s, was the slums of a great city—not an English city, but Paris.

The ministry was in his blood. He was of Highland extraction. His grandfather was a minister of the Countess of Huntingdon’s Connection; his father a Congregational minister, Dr. Robert Stephens McAll. He was born in Macclesfield in 1821. McAll the elder moved to Manchester in 1827, and here Robert the younger was educated, chiefly by his father, a man of power and culture—gifts which he transmitted to his son. There is no record of the boy’s being at school; but there exists a page on which is the beginning of the *First Epistle of Timothy*, written out by the boy of 13 in English and Greek and shorthand. In spite of this he had no intention of becoming a minister. He went at eighteen into an architect’s office in Manchester, and from there to London, where he was for a time with Gilbert Scott, the great architect of the Victorian Gothic revival. Here McAll developed a special trend in Free Church architecture which was to be valuable later. But one Sunday evening in 1844 he was sitting in a metropolitan chapel, while a minister unknown to him then or later preached a sermon earnest enough, but irrelevant to his own thoughts, and one which he hardly heeded, when the first re-direction of his life-plan came

to him. "While I listened, I meditated and virtually resolved upon an entire change in respect to the aim and business of my life. In short, a resistless desire arose, soon forming itself into a changeless purpose, to relinquish a profession adopted from intense fondness, and for which I had secured the needful qualifications, and to enter afresh on a preparatory course with a view to the Christian Ministry." With the result that September 1844 found him a student at Lancashire Independent College, under the principalship of Dr. Robert Vaughan. So, in fulfilment of his father's desire, he was to form the third link in a ministerial chain. His first call, which he received and accepted before he finished his college course, was to Sunderland, and there he was ordained in 1848. It was a working-class and seafaring congregation, and for him a fine training ground.

In the next year he married Elizabeth Siddall Hayward, whose father had been classical professor at Lancashire College in its early days. To judge from her portrait, and from her biography of her husband, she was a delightful, cultured, and original woman. The face is charming and sensitive, with its regular features, its dark eyes, and its expression of serenity and vivacity. She must have been unconventional for those early Victorian days. The book itself, written forty-four years later, unconsciously reveals herself as much as her husband. It is happily natural and spontaneous, without a trace of formality, or stiltedness, deeply earnest and devoted, and yet full of gaiety and humour. It reveals, too, how completely she merged herself in his work, whether as minister's wife in England or missionary's wife in Paris. Without her he could not have done it. But in spite of this perfect partnership it was in Sunderland that there came to him the beginning of the form of ill-health which was never to leave him—the agonizing migraine which laid him low for days at a time to the end of his life. "My head, my head!" became a cry which is found in all his journals like a recurring *motif*.

From this time onwards for many years his was an ordinary ministerial career of the vigorous Victorian Free Church days. Only one thing makes it unusual—the number of times he moved from one church to another. He had altogether seven churches: two in Sunderland, two in Leicester, one each in Manchester, in Lozells, Birmingham, and in Hadleigh, Suffolk. In all of them he was successful, especially among working-class folk and young people. But what is remarkable is that in every case he seems to have resigned before, and not because of, the reception of a call from another church. In two cases he removed to a new church in the same town and took most of his congregation with him. In Sunderland a new church was built for him by his adherents,

called the Grange Church. In Leicester he moved from the old church in the heart of the town to a new one further out, on the London Road, and he himself designed it. The chief available record of these removals is in the biography by his wife. She was a tactful and diplomatic woman, writing within the life-time of some of the people concerned and where it is necessary she is cleverly vague, glossing over any difficulties there may have been. In London Road, Leicester, there is a tablet to his memory, recording his work and his honours; and in the Grange Church, Sunderland, a memorial takes the form of a fine triforium window.

What was the reason for these short pastorates and resignations? He was popular as a preacher, beloved as a pastor. He was never irritable or intransigent—indeed, courtesy was one of his outstanding qualities; and he was anything but dull or pompous. The initiative came always from himself. There is only one explanation, and we are shut up to it. It is that his apparent restlessness came out of his unconscious, because he had not yet found his real *métier*. There are occasionally points at which the future work seems almost to break through into the conscious. For instance, in a letter to his London Road deacons he mentions certain innovations which he had laid down as stipulations, and one is his determination “to present *a broad front of free invitation* to those of our fellow-townsmen not yet under Christian influence.” The italics are his; and they are a prophecy of his future work in a greater city than Leicester. In 1857 those words and that outlook were startling in an English midland town.

The last two years of his English life he spent in the quiet country town of Hadleigh in Suffolk. And then, when he was fifty, came the awakening and the discovery of his true work. His second call was no spectacular happening, no Damascus road. Yet there is an element of the dramatic about it, in its origin and in the inexorable march of the events which led him to become one of the greatest of missionaries and social workers, worthy to be ranked alongside William Booth.

It began in an odd way with a fortnight's holiday trip to Paris. Now that anyone in their senses should choose to go on holiday to Paris in the summer of 1871 is in itself an extraordinary thing. For in that year the Franco-Prussian war had ended with the defeat of France and the occupation of Paris by the Germans, after the long desperate siege; this was followed by the horrors of civil strife between the French Government and the Commune, in which the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville were burned; and by the punishment of the rebels by the Thiers Government in the dreadful butchery known as “The Week of Blood.” It was to this Paris that McAll went with his wife barely three months after that hideous

time. They had made an attempt to go even earlier; but they had been frustrated by the overpowering heat, and went instead to Scotland. But the inner compulsion drove him back to his first intention, and in August 1871 they crossed to Dieppe, carrying a parcel of tracts in French. Not that they had any cut and dried plan. They attempted some sight-seeing; the famous head-ache interfered. But it did not prevent the distribution of the tracts. McAll decided to attack the worst spot, a district in the north of Paris called Belleville, which had been the very hot-bed of the insurgents, and where no one was safe. His horrified friends in Paris did their utmost to stop him, and refused to go with him; but he went, and his wife went with him. And then a dramatic incident did indeed happen. They went into a small café crowded with work-people, and offered their tracts, though their French was scanty. Suddenly a workman who could speak a little English stood forward and asked if McAll were not a Christian minister ("How did he find that out, under the light tourist costume?" McAll asks naively in his journal.) "Sir, I have something to tell you," said the man. "Throughout this whole district, containing tens of thousands of workmen, we cannot accept an *imposed* religion. But if anyone would come to teach us religion of another kind, a religion of freedom and reality, we are ready for it." That was on the last day of their Paris holiday. But it was decisive.

"Fourteen days among French people; and what came of it?" That is Elizabeth McAll's summing-up of this holiday. Their decision was taken; yet not lightly. It seemed so hopeless, so crazy, such a wild-goose chase, as one outspoken Hadleigh woman said. A man of fifty, far from strong, with no money, with no knowledge of the French language or French people; one who would be a foreigner, and not in a barbarian country but in one reputed to be the most highly civilized in the world—what could such a one do among the outcasts to whom he believed himself sent? Of himself nothing; in the power of the Spirit, all, as he believed; and in that belief they went. In his letter to his Hadleigh deacons McAll wrote: "Having this summer visited Paris, we received a resistless impression of the urgent need for evangelizing effort there, and of the readiness of many of the working-classes, through the influence of recent calamities to respond to such efforts Ability and willingness to undertake a charge like Hadleigh are possessed by many Very few are so placed that it would be possible for them to give themselves to this purely mission work in that vast foreign city. I trust that you will see that in taking this step I am actuated solely by a belief in a Divine indication."

On 16th November, 1871, McAll, his wife, and her father, left England for Paris. They had provided a little money by realizing

their invested savings and by selling their few possessions—books, coins, some silver cups—which brought them about £100; a few friends subscribed some £25. McAll knew almost no French, and his accent was deplorable; fortunately his wife's was better. This time they had their plan of campaign. They took a small flat in one of the worst parts of Paris, the Buttes Chaumont, and from there, in bitter weather, they reconnoitred on foot, wearily hunting among empty rooms and shops for a suitable *local*. The one they eventually found was near the place of the original Macedonian Call. It was opened in January 1872. "To-night at 7 p.m. a Free Reading Room will be opened, where pictures, magazines, etc., may be seen. During the evening hymns will be sung and selected pieces read. English friends will give a warm welcome to everyone." So ran the printed handbill. That night the McAlls opened the door, trembling lest the room should be empty. There were actually forty people there—and McAll had often said he "would esteem forty so gathered as much as a thousand in England". In the neighbourhood which had been the very headquarters of the Commune it was a triumph. By this time he had gained the support of many French friends and pastors, and they lent him rooms here and there in the city for his Bible readings and hymn singing. He ventured to begin preaching in French—a tax on his hearers; but his benevolence and sincerity, his charm and courtesy, and above all his burning earnestness, outweighed his oddities of accent. At first he translated some English sermons; but in a year he preached his first sermon composed in French. "It was just the thing for intelligent *ouvriers*", says his wife. "130 present; his aim was to show them that there is not, as some say, 'la religion protestante', 'la religion catholique', but only one, 'la religion de Dieu, de la Bible.'" Of a later time, her description is most vivid. "Robert's sermon was one of the most telling I think he has yet preached; simple as it was, he delivered it so well—it is really marvellous. He is the same preacher, attractive, earnest, here that he was in England; it is the same voice, the same man who speaks; only the language is changed! A very great 'only'; and yet here is the proof of the triumph of essence over form; the same soul is there, the same nature, and the long habit of preaching to numbers lends its help to the voice He was listened to with earnest attention, and one man said "*Bon, vraiment*", seriously and earnestly; he had been taking it all in with uplifted face." And this in the very place where eighteen months before there had been brutal bloodshed in civil war. If the preacher did not sleep till six next morning, what matter?

In the following spring Mrs. McAll could write of the foundation of the Mission as a *fait accompli*. "A year ago I was unable to

look forward to a time when it would be possible to chronicle such a result" (she was describing an anniversary meeting, with statistics of the year's work). "The infant days of the Mission were very anxious times to us; it may even be said there was bitterness in them, apart from the glorious end in view, for which it is a privilege to suffer. The opposition, the ridicule, the newspaper attacks, were now all over; at least a standard had been raised, *planted*—never more to be taken down, I trust. It was planted in weakness, in pain, in toil." The years marched on, with every year an expansion of the work—new halls opened, new mission-stations planted; and not only in Paris, but in Lyons and Bordeaux. The first mission Sunday-school had been opened early in the story—an entire novelty in France. And with it all the amount of administrative work grew. With every hall or building leased there was incredible red tape to be manipulated. McAll's correspondence moreover became overwhelming; it had all to be done by post and telegram, since no telephone existed, and much of it was done after evening services.

By January 1873 the contributions, most of them from England and Scotland, came to £490; the number of stations was six; and nearly 50,000 tracts and Scripture portions had been given out. All this, and much more, McAll was able to report at the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union that year in Nottingham. The next time he spoke at an Autumn Assembly was in 1880, and it was in Birmingham. On this occasion he could tell of 40 stations, with 7,300 'sittings'. "I love our Congregational Churches", he said, "I love their freedom and their fraternity; I love that element which allows me a place among them while engaged in a task common to all Christians; and I desire to spend my days, as I commenced them, in their fellowship" Dr. Peel, in *These Hundred Years* (p. 294), alludes to the interest the Union took in the McAll Mission, and refers the reader to the good summary of its work to be found in the 1885 *Year Book*. The outside world was also recognizing its value. The University of Iowa in the United States offered McAll its doctorate of Divinity; the French Government made him Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur. In 1892, just after his seventieth birthday, and on the twentieth anniversary of the Mission, an anniversary service was held in the famous Oratoire du Louvre in Paris (which is the Westminster Abbey of French Protestantism) and there Dr. Theodore Monod presented to him an album with 5,300 signatures, some of them the crosses of the illiterate or the wandering script of the blind.

But his unsleeping enemy, migraine, seemed at last to be gaining the upper hand. His general health was failing manifestly, and the decision had to be made to give up part of the work. He

decided to spend half of every year in London, in South Norwood, and the other half in Paris. But within six months he died in London, on 11th May, 1893. He was buried in Paris at Père Lachaise, its most famous cemetery.

In one sense, he *was* the McAll Mission. If his work had died with him, it would have been proof that he had laid no sure foundation. But it has never died—it has continued to grow. Its formal title is *La Mission Populaire Évangélique de France*, but its pet-name is and always will be *La Mission McAll*, pronounced by the French as *McColl*. There are today three centres in inner Paris, three in outer Paris, and nine in other cities, such as Marseilles and Rouen and Lille; four holiday homes for children; and the famous and unique mission-barge, *La Bonne Nouvelle*, successor to the one launched in 1891, for work in the vast network of the French canal system—a miniature *John Williams*. On the staff of the Mission today there are people from many nations—America, Switzerland, Holland, even Vietnam; and other countries have a deep interest in it. America has an auxiliary, and so have London and Scotland. It is cramped by only one thing, common to every missionary effort today, lack of adequate funds. The French Protestant community is poor financially, but it gives generously. Yet still the hands of the Mission Committee are tied, and the need for evangelism in France is today, for a different reason, not less than when McAll first felt it so imperatively.

France has had a tragic religious history. If it had not been for the terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572; for the virulent persecution by Louis XIV, who boasted that by means of his *dragonnades* he had rid his kingdom of every Protestant (he was wrong); for the perpetual attacks and burning of churches which persisted till Napoleon's time and after—if it had not been for all these things, France would today be, as some of us believe, one of the greatest Protestant countries in the world. Her small contingent of Protestants—at a generous estimate, one in fifty of her population—does marvellous things, out of proportion to its numbers; but it cannot alone redeem its country. Even the Roman Catholics, far stronger numerically, have recently described France as a "*pays des missions*"—that is, a pagan country, in desperate need of evangelization. It has become axiomatic in this generation to recognize no compartments in missionary effort; that is part of "the great new fact of our time", the Ecumenical Movement. And if we are to go out into all the world, we cannot do it without stumbling over our nearest neighbour. Such notions, eighty years ago, must have seemed sheer nonsense to ninety-nine per cent of sensible and even missionary-minded church people. But there was this one man who was far ahead of his time.

What was McAll's secret? How did he win the confidence and love of the French proletariat then, when their own countrymen failed? Zola saw the misery and made lurid melodrama of it; but he had no effect on the people. "McAll went there, a foreigner, with his air of benevolent good form and an old-fashioned revival outfit in his bag—and they listened to him and loved him. His kindness and courtesy impressed even the Commissioners of the Police. An atmosphere of sympathetic curiosity seemed to envelop the English couple from their first efforts on the wild heights of Belleville where the rifle-shots had scarcely died away." (I quote from a brilliant article by Pastor Pierre Poujol in *Le Christianisme au XXme Siècle*.)

In this, the sixtieth year after his death, we are still proud to remember that Robert Whitaker McAll was an ardent Congregationalist who never broke his connection with us, and we honour the memory of a man of conviction, and courage, and courtesy, who loved another country as though it were his own, and gave himself up to it for twenty years, body, mind and spirit, that he might bring its desperate and degraded ones to the knowledge of Christ and His Cross and Redemption.

CANADIAN CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

BY CLARIS EDWIN SILCOX, D.D.

CONGREGATIONALISM was the first non-conforming group to get a foothold in what is now the 'kingdom of Canada'. This came about as a result of the migration of New Englanders to Nova Scotia just before and following the founding of Halifax in 1749. In that year, the government assisted in building two churches—St. Paul's, intended for the Anglicans, and Mather's Church (now called St. Matthew's) which was, as the name would indicate, designed for the New England dissenters. Both of these churches are still standing and in use.

As New England continued to send in new settlers, several Congregational churches were established and supplied with ministers and, in some cases, with communion silver from New England. About 1760 there were perhaps more Congregational than Anglican churches and, of the churches which entered the United Church of Canada in 1925, four had been established between 1760 and 1763 and were Congregational. With the exception of St. Matthew's Church in Halifax (1749) which had in course of time become Presbyterian, these were the churches with the longest continuous history to enter the United Church of Canada.

Despite this fact and for various reasons¹ Congregationalism was always weak in Canada even though it did exert a beneficent influence on Canadian churchmanship generally. The early start in the Maritime provinces was nullified after the conclusion of the American war of Independence. During that war, some of the New England ministers in the churches of the Maritime were so indiscreet in their public expressions of sympathy with the rebellious American colonists that they were called before the Governor and warned to be more careful not only in their sermons but also in their prayers! One minister—at Maugerville, N.B.—really endeavoured to organize an armed revolt himself and barely escaped when a gunboat was sent up the St. John river to crush the affair. At the conclusion of the war, the Governor practically forbade the Congregational churches from importing any more ministers from New England. About the same time, a schism developed in the Congregational churches due to the activities of

¹ Some of these are mentioned in Silcox, C. E.; *Church Union in Canada*, 1933, pp. 43-44.

Henry Alline, who had come from Newport, Rhode Island, with his parents when he was a small boy. The Allines had been members of the church whose minister was the famous New England theologian of "disinterested benevolence", Dr. Samuel Hopkins and, when Henry had grown up, he initiated a religious revival in Nova Scotia, forming New Light Congregational churches by the side of some of the older and more 'orthodox' churches. In the end, these New Light churches became Baptist and formed the foundation on which later Baptist strength in the Maritime provinces was built.

When the United Church of Canada was inaugurated in 1925, the Canadian Congregational churches were not numerous. There were perhaps upwards of one hundred such churches, widely scattered. Even prior to union, some of the churches had disbanded and their members had united with Presbyterian or Methodist churches in their community. Of those which had survived all but four in the east and three Russo-German churches in the west came into the union. Of the four eastern churches that refused to enter the union, two have disappeared entirely. One, a small church in Stratford, still survives and last year contributed about \$5,000 to various foreign missionary boards (mostly interdenominational). Only on 8th June of this year (1953) did this church take action to change its name to the McKenzie Memorial Church, after the Rev. George McKenzie who became its pastor in 1898 and who died a few years ago. It also sought and received acceptance into the Fellowship of Associated Gospel Churches on the ground that "its faith is almost identical with the old Congregational Church." The Congregational Home Missionary Society had held a lien on the property of the Stratford Church when church union was consummated, but during the thirties, and as a gesture of good-will to the few churches which had not voted to enter the union, the United Church of Canada, as the successor of the Home Missionary Society, wiped out all such liens. Another church at Kingston, Ontario, after a period of isolated independency became connected with the New York Conference of the Congregational Christian Churches.

When the American Congregational and Christian churches united, Congregationalism in a very mild way returned to Canada. There had been a few Christian churches in Ontario connected with the New York Conference, and these, following that union, now became Congregational Christian churches. These are, however, very few and very small. One of their ministers, ordained in 1949, has just been designated by the United Church of Canada for missionary service in Japan.

Of the Congregational churches which entered the United

Church of Canada, a number still survive in the rural areas, but usually as parts of pastoral churches and under ministers who were not originally of Congregational background, and who minister not only to these former Congregational churches but to other churches in the vicinage as well. In the villages and smaller towns, Congregational churches have practically disappeared. They have been completely absorbed in other churches of the United Church of Canada, and their buildings are usually given over to other and more secular purposes.

The same disappearance of former Congregational churches due to consolidation has been characteristic of the larger cities. In Toronto, for instance, only one church originally Congregational survives—the Rosedale United Church. It was the Northern Congregational church, but during World War I it disposed of its property near the centre of the city and moved into an unchurched residential area. At the time of this move, it was definitely pledged to become a community church looking forward to church union. Several of its ministers since 1925 have been of Presbyterian origin, and today it is a strong church with an annual budget of over \$50,000. Another downtown Congregational church, Bond Street, disposed of its large church to a Pentecostal congregation and, uniting with St. James's Square Presbyterian which had also been sold, built a new church in a new and rapidly growing district where it bears the name of St. James's-Bond United. In the city of Hamilton, the former Pilgrim Congregational Church still carries on under the United Church and, with a membership of somewhat under 300, raises for all purposes about \$15,000 a year. In Montreal, the beautiful and relatively new church in the downtown district, for many years the scene of the fruitful ministry of Dr. Hugh Pedley, disposed of its property and consolidated its membership and residuary resources with another United Church in the Westmount district and is now known as the Westmount Park-Enmanuel United Church. It sold its property to the Salvation Army for \$200,000, devoting \$100,000 of the proceeds to the church extension work of the Montreal Presbytery of the United Church; made another generous contribution to the support of the foreign missions work in Angola, formerly operated by the Canadian Congregationalists, and presumably brought the balance into the newly-formed consolidated church. Another Montreal Church, Calvary, still survives and is known as Westmount-Calvary. It has nearly 700 members. In the western metropolitan churches much the same situation is to be found. For the most part, only in a few of the smaller cities in the eastern townships of Quebec and close to the New England border, such as Sherbrooke and Granby where the former Congregational churches were always

quite strong, have those churches maintained their separate and continued existence within the United Church of Canada.

Old Congregational personnel has now also mostly disappeared, through death or retirement. Two of the moderators of the United Church of Canada—the Reverend William T. Gunn, D.D. (1928-1930) and the Reverend T. W. Jones, D.D. (1916-1918) had been Canadian Congregationalists, while the Reverend Richard Roberts, D.D. (1934-1936) had been a Congregational minister in the United States before he came to Montreal as minister of the American Presbyterian Church just before the consummation of the union. All three of these ex-moderators are now dead. Another Congregationalist, Miss Effie Jamieson (later Mrs. Frank J. Day), was for a number of years secretary of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada. A Congregational layman and former banker (Herbert W. Barker) served the United Church of Canada as its treasurer for some years after the retirement of Dr. Robert Laird. Few former Congregational ministers survive today after twenty-eight years of church union, except in retirement, and practically no such former Congregationalist (Canadian-born and trained) is sufficiently a national figure as to suggest the possibility of his assuming any position of outstanding leadership in the United Church today. Nevertheless, the pulpit of the United Church has been enriched and is still enriched by the ministry of Congregationalists who have been called from England and occupied United Church pulpits with distinction. In Toronto, for example, two of the largest churches have been thus manned. Deer Park United Church with a membership of nearly 2,000 has for its minister Dr. G. Stanley Russell, who visited Canada prior to the union, and left his charge in London, England, for the Deer Park Church in 1929. Another English Congregationalist, Dr. John Short, has more recently become the minister of St. George's United Church which has a magnificent building and a membership of 2,500.

Congregationalism may have been practically absorbed in the United Church of Canada, but there is no doubt that the spirit of Congregationalism—or at least those aspects of the spirit of Congregationalism which deserve survival—has influenced the United Church and its development. This survival has been due, at least in part, to the definite insistence of the Congregational founding fathers in the church-union movement in Canada on the retention of those principles in the basis. As a matter of fact, Dr. G. Stanley Russell in his autobiography entitled *The Road Behind Me* writes:

. . . . The influence of Congregationalism in making and moulding the United Church, at its commencement, was profound. This may be the place to point out that the freedom of its ministers from the signing of creeds, as well as the

considerable autonomy of individual congregations, arises from the immense weight the comparatively unimportant Congregational Church was able to bring to bear on the situation. In fact, it was only in the United Church of Canada that I began to realize what a profoundly loyal Congregationalist I was ! (p. 202).

Doctrine and Creed Subscription.

The Congregational founding fathers insisted that no subscription to the doctrinal statement prepared by the union committee be made mandatory in the case of prospective ordinands. To be sure, this doctrinal statement was not very notable, and it was drawn up in the first decade of the century when theological thinking, not only in Canada but elsewhere in the Protestant world, was rather naive and in process of transition. But on the point of subscription to the creed, the Congregational members of the church union committee were adamant and they carried their point. To this day, the ordination service does not make any such subscription mandatory. The ordinands are simply asked three questions :

- (1) Do you believe yourself to be a child of God, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ ?
- (2) Do you believe yourself to be called of God to the office of the Christian ministry, and your chief motives to be zeal for the glory of God, love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire for the salvation of men ?
- (3) Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines required for eternal salvation in our Lord Jesus Christ, and are you resolved out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing which is not agreeable thereto ?

Before church union was consummated, and following the union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church in Scotland, a declaration had been incorporated into the United Church of Canada Bill which was to be presented to the government at Ottawa. This declared that

Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to limit the independent and exclusive right and power to legislate in all matters concerning its doctrine, worship, discipline and government, including therein the right and power from time to time to frame, alter, change, add to or modify its laws, subordinate standards and formulas and to determine and declare the same or any of them, but *subject to the conditions and safeguards in that behalf contained in the Basis of Union.*

These safeguards were three in number, and they could only be revoked by a special Act of Parliament. They were :

- (1) Before any rule or law relative to these matters can become a permanent law, it must receive the approval of a majority of presbyteries, and, if advisable, of pastoral charges:
- (2) No terms of admission to full membership shall be described other than those laid down in the New Testament:
- (3) The freedom of worship at present enjoyed in the negotiating churches shall not be interfered with in the United Church.

The first of these safeguards was grounded in the Barrier Act of the former Presbyterian churches. The second and the third are most compatible, though not exclusively so, with the spirit of Congregationalism, and, one is inclined to believe, were inserted—at least partly—by the emphasis of Congregational unionists.

In regard to the second safeguard, a real situation arose only a few years ago when a strong group in the United Church urged that total abstinence from alcoholic beverages be made mandatory on all church members. This raised a furious opposition, and even some of the leading temperance advocates in the United Church opposed the move on various grounds, *inter alia*, that it was contrary to the Act of Union and hence illegal, and that it would be breach of a solemn covenant. The movement subsided. Needless to say, with such safeguards, it would be impossible for the United Church of Canada, even if it wanted to do so, to make the acceptance of such doctrines as the Immaculate Conception or the Assumption of the Virgin Mary necessary to church membership!

In regard to the third safeguard, while the church has prepared a noble hymnary and also a fine Book of Common Prayer, the United Church cannot make the use of either mandatory on any congregation. It might and does recommend. It does issue orders of service for various occasions. But it cannot make any order of service mandatory. Personally, I do not see how the United Church of Canada and the Church of England in Canada could possibly unite in any problematical future unless any ritual proposed was accompanied with a recognition of the freedom of the individual congregation to use or not use it as it saw fit. But by the time such a new union might take place, the two Churches would probably have become so temperamentally at one, that a general agreement on the recommended orders of service would be as possible and acceptable to the Anglicans as to the United Church.

Congregational Autonomy.

The Canadian Congregationalists had obtained for their own churches the right of such congregations to preserve freedom of action, even in the control and disposition of their own church property, movable and immovable, except where trust deeds gave

the Congregational Home Missionary Society a reversionary right in case a church might be disbanded. Beyond that, they saw to it that there was inserted in the basis of union a provision that "any churches, charges, circuits, or congregations, received subsequent to the union into the United Church, with the approval of Presbyteries, shall be entitled, if they so desire", to similar control.

It must be remembered that, even in more connexional churches, individual congregations which are strong and wealthy, whatever their legal rights, have other means of asserting their freedom, and even bishops or general superintendents are not apt to alienate a congregation which makes substantial contributions to the common treasury. But where a few churches secure for themselves the legal recognition of their freedom of action, it creates a temper making for similar freedom even in churches which are not covered by any such legal assurances; in the last analysis, the authority of church courts will rest upon persuasion and the 'spirit' rather than upon the manifestation of authority.

The Foreign Field.

The Congregationalists brought into the union in Canada its only 'coloured' church, and it was also the only uniting denomination which had any field of foreign work in Africa or among distinctly primitive people. This was in Angola, Portuguese East Africa, and had been operated in conjunction with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They brought this work with them, and the much greater support given to Angola work by the stronger United Church has made this today one of the most important foreign missionary enterprises now under the United Church. It has even attained additional importance as the work in China has suffered setbacks.

Canadian Expansion.

Canada, today, is undergoing a tremendous period of expansion. Our immense natural resources are being brought into use and our habitable borders pushed right up to the Arctic. Immigration is flowing into the country. Any small denomination, like the Congregationalists were before union, could not cope with the new situation and plant churches where they were needed. But a Church as strong as the United Church can tackle it, whatever the difficulties; and in the final analysis the Congregationalists of Canada who have survived can share in the further extension of a Church, liberal and evangelical, throughout the new Canada that is being born and which has such promise for the future.

THE CURTAIN OF CREATION: A MEDITATION

BY JAMES B. BINNS, M.A.

"God saw everything that he had made and behold it was very good". Later, God saw everything that He had made and behold it had gone awry.

"Later". In physical existence and in reason we are bounded by time and space; but we are not, altogether, in spirit and in imagination. When we are listening, it may be to 'Jesu, Joy of man's desiring,' or to Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, time is in suspense. When we are reading, it may be a poem,

I saw Eternity the other night
Like a great ring of pure and endless light
All calm as it was bright;
And round beneath it, Time in hours, days, years
Driv'n by the spheres
Like a vast shadow mov'd; in which the world
And all her train were hurl'd,—

or when we are rapt in adoration and praise,

We praise Thee O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord,
All the earth doth worship Thee, the Father everlasting;
To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers
therein;

or when we are, though it be rarely, caught up in an ecstasy of pure passion—at such times we have some measure and moment of half-release from our finitude.

"Beyond, beyond that boundless sea"

is logically and geographically an absurdity. Poetically we can and at times we may be free to soar—or, being creatures, to sink.

"I accept the universe", wrote Margaret Fuller. Said Thomas Carlyle expletively, "She'd better!" Unavoidably, we speak of the Eternal in terms of linear time and space. Yet imagination may receive some intimations from the far side of the curtain of creation.

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?

"God saw everything that he had made and behold it was" deflected from His purpose, twisted, diminished, corrupted. So it was and is.

. . . . What in me is dark illumine

. . . . Oh, how fall'n ! How changed
From him who in the happy realms of light
Clothed with transcendent brightness didst outshine
Myriads, though bright

So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
Farewell remorse : all good in me is lost. . . .

So, God waited—why, we do not know; though some reasons have been dimly and brokenly traced, above all in the Old Testament story. He waited; but communication was achieved with some who were, in varying degree, attentive and responsive.

He waited; but

. . . . A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday
when it is past and as a watch in the night. . . .

'Waiting' is a term of this side of the curtain only.

He did not dictate any Hebrew, or later any Christian, Koran. A book may be, can be, of inestimable worth; but no book can be of any directly personal, still less of any infinite, value. Could it be, there were no need for Christ to have come. No Book, or books, could or can be adequate to God's purpose or man's need.

The Very God ! Think, Abib; dost thou think ?
So, the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
So, through the thunder comes a human voice
Saying, 'Oh, heart I made, a heart beats here !
Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself !
Thou hast no power, nor may'st conceive of mine.
But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
And thou must love me who have died for thee.

The Very God !

"In the fullness of time", at the ripe moment, there were those known as 'The Quiet in the Land'; and in that fullness of time, first to those Quiet, came God Himself to dwell among men—The Day-spring from on high. . . . God said a second time, "Let there be light", and the Light shone in the darkness and the darkness was not able to put it out—has not been, never will be.

When God made men free—free to go up to Jerusalem or down to Jericho—He imperilled His purpose, but that was His way of realizing it. Now He accepted in a new and more intimate way the danger from free men. For consider, as has often been said, that a human baby is of all new-born creatures the most helpless, and is for the longest time utterly dependent on others' care.

My soul doth magnify the Lord,
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour,
For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden . . .

Did not the angels sing at this birth? In heaven, the other side of the curtain, there was joy in the joy of this woman that this Child was born; but also travail for the way He should tread; with joy again that He should "return bearing his sheaves with him."

But consider also that we at our best, we creatures, strain against the infrangible limits of our creature-hood. A poet goes beyond the bounds set for prosaic folk, sees the vision and returns; but loses immeasurably in returning. Even though he be Dante, Shakespeare or Shelley, he must endure the pain of being able to express, in intractable words, only a part, and maybe the less precious part, of his vision. Have not even we striven to speak or to write "thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears" and for praise? Do we not chafe, in the company of another's need or another's joy, against the intolerable bondage of this finitude? How much more the Lord God when He took upon Himself the burden of that bondage for us men and our salvation! We cannot understand, let alone express, the Passion of the Incarnation. Then began the manifestation of God's passion for us.

"Begotten not created." Was that a human attempt to penetrate the curtain of creation from this side? It is a needed reminder that God is in heaven and we upon the earth. It is in implication a statement that full truth is the other side of the curtain. The manifestation of God's Passion came from that, the far, side.

So God entered personally into humanity; into all the joys and griefs of childhood, youth and early manhood; into all our experiences, save only those not consonant with His mission, save those rooted in sin; into children's games of weddings and funerals, perplexity at their quarrels, joy in their joys; the pressures and ardours of daily life; watching His mother make-do and mend; seeing His father sweat at his work, sharing in that labour; observing the ploughing, planting, reaping, shepherding of His neighbours, their borrowing, lending, their doubts and fears; their petty—and not so petty—pride; God, that is, involving Himself of His own will in the endlessly complicated warp and woof of the often deranged patterns of men's work and relationships.

At some point came the beginning of the apprehension of His transcendent, dread vocation: the eager, gradually clearer, then comprehending and creative understanding of God's highest communications in Deuteronomy, to Jeremiah and to Isaiah. Then He came to face the not-uncommon human dilemma: If this good be chosen, that good must be neglected. God's acceptance of the

human situation was entirely without reserve. Where lay Jesus' duty in the choice between two courses, both right? The decision had to be made, in an actual situation; one in which the most-loving son was faced with the incompatible demand of an apparently unloving course. 'But how did you not understand that it was here, in the Temple, that you would find me, trying to discover my Father's will for me?'

Later, in nights 'among the lonely hills' He found His direction.

That led Him away from home, deserting His mother, sisters and brothers, to Jordan and to the wilderness beyond. This was a new phase in the acute, continuing ordeal of choice. Choice implies temptation; the sharper the choice, the fiercer the temptation. This was not the beginning of the choice—that was made before Bethlehem; and the abandonment of the supernal entailed the abandonment of the earthly home. Exile from heaven: exile from Nazareth—yet not 'exile'—willing relinquishment.

Power: the temptations of power are subtle, sweet and strong; most strong where the innate ability to wield power is greatest. To those whose reliance upon the inherent force of personality excludes dependence upon God, the opportunity for the exercise of power brings constant danger of corruption. Ultimately, belief in self means self-destruction: for as power is exercised, at first successfully, the quickly growing conviction of one's infallibility destroys ability to discriminate. In the web of human relationships self-destruction can never be destruction only of self; and in the rending of the warp and woof of a man's life others' patterns are torn apart. The greater a man's power, the more widespread the destruction; the higher the estate to which he has risen, the more widespread the damage of his downfall.

For Jesus the problem was: How could the power of God, now within human limitations, rightly be used? How could men and women so be confronted by that power that they might accept it as service? By its use to make Himself materially secure?—but at the inn at Bethlehem there had been no room. By conclusive demonstration?—but at Bethlehem, in Nazareth and on that visit to Jerusalem there had been accepted obscurity in ordinariness of life. By its diversion to magical uses?—but God's will had been to come through the curtain of creation without any purpose or means of domination.

So Jesus had to face again the recurrent quandary involved in His having come into the world; and now the issue was still more sharply set. The decision was made—for a season. God had willed to meet evil within the confines of creation; since only so could He enable men to use their freedom, if they so willed, to receive God's salvation.

Therefore Jesus chose ordinary men to be His companions as learners; and went His ways about Galilee, Perea and Judea. Alliance with the well-born, the rich and the learned would not serve His purpose. Herod's palace and the High-Priest's home had been available; but God had chosen the stable; and that choice was confirmed in the wilderness.

At Bethlehem divine majesty had been shown, incredibly, to be divine humility; now it was shown to be also patience and service: service without stint, patience as that suffering which stoops under and bears up.

Peter: a grand man—but that side the Cross he had no inkling of what was meant by God's coming through the curtain of creation. (Nor should we have had.) John, James, His mother, His brethren—none understood, some thought Him mad.

The Transfiguration: Was that, perhaps, the rejection of the temptation to go back prematurely through the curtain of creation?

More and more, and more deeply, the passion of the coming enters into the experiences of daily life. There was the anguish of unanswered prayer. None understood. Judas misunderstood, perhaps wilfully.

* * *

God gave and had the comfort of a last meal with His friends. Then the passion of the coming became the passion of the going. The curtain of creation was dark—dark and heavy; almost, not quite, impenetrable. Loneliness—despair—acceptance—resolution—suffering and death: the final, determined acceptance of the consequence of Bethlehem: the rending, from this side, of the curtain of creation—“*It is finished.*”

But Easter Day breaks! But
Christ rises! Mercy every way
Is infinite— . . .

The curtain is rent. God passes through, and is not gone. The curtain of creation still surrounds His children. But it had at last been penetrated from this side—and forever it remains penetrable.

“Tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin”—

The victory cannot in any way by any means have been pre-arranged. God is not hypocrite.

Yet, must there not have been, must there not be, a sense in which God, having lived our curtained life, knows sin—not sins—from within, by immediate contact and involvement under creaturely conditions with sin-infected men and women?

If the state of sin be the assumption that there is no life beyond the curtain—

Glory to man in the highest! for man is the master of things!

—or, if the state of sin be the acceptance of the curtain as impenetrable; or, if it be in varying degree contentment with the separation, within that surrounding curtain, of the self from God: then, since God came into our state, lived within and accepted its conditions, He knows at first-hand all that is involved in the falling away of creation from His pristine purpose; and, Himself having come at Bethlehem, has penetrated the curtain from both sides.

May it just possibly be of more than finite significance that, while Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem are known localities, certainly known, the stable, the tomb and the Easter garden are not? Is this some faint intimation that time and space do not wholly fetter us even within the curtain—and that at last the fetters shall fall away?

God in Christ entered into, submitted to, passed through and overcame our state of alienation from Him. The curtain, rent from our side, is rent for all remaining created time. Christ took and God takes the burden of sin, not as an externally-assumed, still less as an externally-imposed weight; but by and in the very act of His having become man, by and in the very fact that humanity has been taken, as in God's providential care it had to be taken, beyond the curtain of creation into the dwelling-place of light.

God in Christ sees everything that He has made and behold creation is redeemed.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL TREATMENT OF TIME AND ETERNITY

By ALAN CHAMPION, M.A.

I. *The nature of the problem.*

If the trend towards a thoroughgoing eschatological treatment of the New Testament is a right one, an examination of the time and eternity problem turns on the following points:

- (i) The Advent—Parousia event as decisive for human history.
- (ii) In so far as this event is discussable in terms of time, it divides 'time' into the 'old age' and the 'new age'.
- (iii) If human time concepts have any validity in asserting our sense of some form of continuity, the 'old age' prepares for the 'new age' which is its fulfilment.
- (iv) The 'new age' is inaugurated by the Advent—Parousia event and is not yet completed, in so far as it is discussable in terms of human time concepts.

Before going on to examine the implications of these points, on which many eschatological thinkers seem in general terms to be agreed, two explanatory notes are necessary. Firstly, 'the advent-parousia event' is the shorthand term I shall henceforth use for the event comprising the birth, life, death, resurrection, and continued presence of Jesus Christ. Secondly, history, though the term is usually confined to the series of successive events that go to make up the story of the activities of mankind on this earth, will be used in a more general sense, namely to suggest the total complex of events which happen other than God Himself, whether or not they happen in the ken of mankind; and the term 'human history' will be used in the sense in which 'history' as described above is normally used.

(i) *The advent-parousia event as decisive for human history.*

The findings of eschatological study of New Testament texts make it clear that, from the standpoint of the New Testament, this event is not only decisive for human history, but, which is by no means necessarily the same thing, *ἐφάπαξ* —once-for-all—in its decision.

Even if we are right in supposing that the event is decisive for human history, we must be careful before we press on to assert that it is, therefore, the only decisive action which, from *His* standpoint,

God has taken. It may well be decisive for 'human salvation' without being decisive for 'the salvation of the total creation'—for history, in the sense outlined above.

A care of this kind may prove helpful in considering, particularly, the parousia aspect of the event, in that it at least leaves it open for discussion whether, if God's decisive act is not confined to the era of human history, a notion like that of 'the second coming' might not more properly be considered in relation to that part of history, of the total complex of events that happen, which is not marked off by the rise and demise of man. It is, in short, possible that God may act, or have acted, decisively on other occasions in respect of something quite other than what is exhibited in the familiar time-framework of this universe.

It may well be that this point of view is what the New Testament does in fact assert, e.g. in *Hebrews*, *Romans*, *Ephesians*, and especially, *Colossians*, i, 12-20. If passages of this kind do indeed assert the essential organicness of God's creation, it is at least possible that the satisfaction which is God's in His creation may not be fulfilled simply by the salvation of man. An examination of the problem in this way would at least place the satisfaction of God in His creation at the centre of the problem, rather than the satisfaction of God in the possible salvation of man. Such a view the more merits serious consideration today, when some scientists and philosophers are beginning to wonder whether many of our scientific and philosophical difficulties stem from the questionable but long-standing assumption that the be-all and end-all of creation is the salvation of man.

(ii) *The 'old age' and the 'new age'.*

The division, by the advent-parousia event, of human history into these two 'ages' is obvious enough. On an organic view of the nature of the universe, all events are decisive in this way. The particularity of this event, of course, is just that its decisiveness is stated as for human history. To give it this particularity, however, is not to assert that it is decisive from God's standpoint. If the event is indeed decisive from God's standpoint it is decisive within and for the context of the manifold of His total activities, and not simply for human or even created history. This entails the assertion that the advent-parousia event is decisive in that it inaugurates a 'new age' not simply for man but for all exhibitions of God's activity, i.e. for history in the sense outlined above. And, if this is so, we are immediately faced with the difficulty implied by the necessity our language imposes upon us to add after God's activities, "to which any form of the time metaphor 'after the event' will apply"; for if we must make this

addition, we are in fact delimiting the creative activity of God to those regions in which time metaphors apply.

(iii) *The 'new age' as fulfilment of the 'old age'.*

This is to sound a warning, for if the advent-parousia event is decisive in this way, decisive not simply for man and his universe, but for all things or events which, here or elsewhere, now or otherwise, exhibit the activities of God, it follows that the 'new age' we have been considering is not to be defined in time metaphors, i.e. in terms of human salvation as being now possible within that 'age', but in terms of something other than 'time'.

What we assert of this event cannot be described *from God's standpoint* as coming after an 'old age' and inaugurating a 'new age', for if its purpose is to reveal God's intentions for His created universe (or universes), so to describe it would be to say that, until this event, all created occasions were unaware of and unresponsive to God's intentions. God's manifestation of His creative intention is necessary at all points of the total existence of created occasions, in order that they may fulfil their organic nature; and it may well be, therefore, that it is in terms of a concept of this order, rather than of time, that the 'new age' is properly to be defined. Thus, what, from the standpoint of man, is called a new age may be in fact permanently present for the created occasions of God, as the focus of their orientation towards Him: as, in Whitehead's phrase, the "lure for feeling" motivating the activity of the organic universe. On this view *ἐφάπαξ* —once-for-all—God exhibits His creativity in such a way that all His created occasions are obliged to respond to His intentions.

From the standpoint of man, it is clear that this manifestation is presented to him at all points in his evolutionary duration, since he is organically one with his universe. But for man, as distinct from all other created occasions, response to the intentions of God is not, so to speak, simply unconscious, or subvert. Within the evolutionary duration which is 'human history' there comes a point in time when his overt recognition of God's intention requires to be rendered more firmly, where, as distinct from all other created occasions, he requires an *explicit* manifestation of God's intentions. Such an explicit manifestation is, presumably, not necessary for other created occasions, whose 'knowledge' of God's intentions, whose response to the "lure for feeling", is not, like man's, also bound up with the ability to affirm, to deny, to will and to resist. Thus, the *ἐφάπαξ* manifestation which stands as God's creative lure throughout the manifold of His activities, becomes a once-for-all revelation to man, in terms of human time, providing, for human history, a 'new age'; and, by its very explicitness, 'fulfils' the

potentialities vested in the prior situation in which the manifestation of God's intentions was merely, as suggested above, presented to him at all points of his evolutionary duration. The advent-parousia event, on this view, inaugurates the 'new age' as the era in man's temporal duration in which he can for the first time be fully aware of and totally responsive to the nature of the universe in which he is placed and, by *consciously* attempting to orientate himself in the direction of God's intention, fulfil the promise entailed in the presentation of those intentions to him, as to all other created occasions, during the 'old age'.

To sum up, this decisive act of God is discussable in terms of time only in so far as it is decisive for human history, but not in so far as it is decisive for the proper orientation of God's other created occasions. It is decisive for man in that only through the advent-parousia event, which for him and him alone can be placed in time, is explicitly demonstrated what requires to be so demonstrated to him, and to him alone, namely, the full nature of the relation of God to the world and of the world to God.

It is worth speculating whether this is not what is essentially implied by the 'Fall' concept—that this concept is a recognition of the fact that explicit exhibition of God's intentions, and of the relation of God to the world and of the world to God, is necessary to man alone of all created occasions. In this sense, then, the 'new age' would be for man a fulfilment of the 'old' in that it took up, through the explicit exhibition of man's relationship to God, the gradually dawning consciousness that this relationship is in fact there and must in fact be affirmed.

(iv) *The 'new age', its presence and completion.*

If the 'new age' is viewed in this light, the reason for the assertion that "the end is not yet" is clear. The 'new age' will be completed, from man's standpoint, when the objective of its inauguration is secured; when, in short, all men, whose 'age' it is, described in terms of time, explicitly recognize, affirm and respond to God as the point of proper orientation of human activity. It will be completed, from God's standpoint, when all His created occasions are properly orientated to Him, in short, when His satisfaction in the total fulfilment of His creative intention is complete. From His standpoint the 'end' cannot be described in terms of time, as was pointed out at the outset of (iii) above.

The following emerges, then, as a summary of the examination of some of the implications of the four points so far considered. The advent-parousia event is a decisive event for man as the one created occasion who is not already, fully as to his capacity, aware of, responsive to, and affirmative of his relation to God and of the

relationship of God to him. This decisive event is one and the same with the supreme decisive act of God in exhibiting His creative intention to all occasions, and becomes decisive in terms of time only from the human standpoint. It is an act of God working at all points throughout all creation, but by man only imperfectly responded to until it is made explicit in the advent-parousia event. Once this is done, ἐφάπαξ, it becomes for man, as for all other created occasions, active at all points throughout man's temporal duration, irrespective of whether that duration overlaps or is overlapped by the duration of other created occasions.

II. *The difficulties of 'Time and Eternity'.*

The examination of the eschatological problems sketched above has suggested that a sounder interpretation of the eschatological basis of the New Testament would, perhaps, result from discussing it in terms of the intentions of God and the response of man to them rather than in terms of 'Time and Eternity', and it may appear that this is but to beg the question. In this section I shall endeavour to suggest that the difficulties implicit in the eschatological interpretation of the New Testament arise in principle just because they are discussed in terms of Time and Eternity, and in terms of a viewpoint on the nature of time that is, to say the least of it, out of date. It is necessary first to sketch the kind of difficulty in which interpretation of this nature does result.

1. *The theological interpretation and its difficulties.*

A brief consideration of the work of Professor Oscar Cullman in *Christ and Time* and of Dr. John Marsh in *The Fullness of Time* will present the matter acutely enough. It appears that in his appendix to *The Fullness of Time* Marsh accurately sums up Cullman's position, and the discussion can here be confined to that appendix, especially pp. 175-177.

(i) Cullman's view is based on the assumption that there was 'time' *before* the creation and that there will be 'time' *after* the parousia, and that while, for the Old Testament the decisive event, the 'mid-point', rests at the parousia, for the New Testament it rests between the creation and the parousia. He maintains that a three-fold division of time into before, now, and after is overlaid in the New Testament with a two-fold division of time into the 'old age' and the 'new age', the one before, the other after, the Advent. The Christian lives in both time-frameworks at once and, referring *back* in time to this decisive event, rather than *forward* as in the Old Testament, he thus lives in an "eschatological tension".

(ii) As will appear later, there is no difficulty in accepting an assertion that the Christian, or any other created occasion, for that

matter, lives in two or more different time-frameworks at once, but to assert this is to say nothing as to the relationship in which he stands to God, which is, I take it, what the eschatology of the New Testament seeks to elucidate.

(iii) Marsh's criticism of Cullman is especially effective at two points:

(a) that Cullman's time line isn't linear at all, i.e. that joining up *καιροι* does not necessarily give a temporal succession but a *redemptive* succession.

(b) that Christ is not only the 'mid-point' but the eschaton, the final point, the consummation.

But

(iv) It does not seem to me that Marsh sufficiently follows up his point, which can be clearly made if we italicise the key phrases in the quotation he makes from Cullman's text (*Christ and Time*, p. 43),

"Thus we see in the past, present and the future, there are *special divine καιροι* by the joining of which the *redemptive* line arises."

Surely the effective point is that the *καιροι* are special and divine and are redemptive opportunities, and their divinity and redemptive efficacy are not time concepts at all? These *καιροι* are, I should have thought, following the discussion in Part I above, exhibitions of the consistency rather than the temporal succession of God's activities, and that what we are here talking about is the *non-temporal* content of the word *καιροι* as "opportunity to do something", rather than as "time ripe for doing"; that is, about God's manifestations of His creative activity which are available for man as *καιροι*. What is decisive here is not a temporal succession of events, but the fulfilment of opportunities given for 'redemption' in the sense, outlined in I(iii) above, of the conscious attempt of man properly to orientate himself towards the intentions of God.

2. *The Time concept and its traps.*

(i) *The Greek view of Time.*

Marsh's criticism of Cullman is effective at yet another point. Cullman is right, Marsh observes, to reject the Greek cyclical view of time, but, as Marsh rightly insists, it is of no avail to substitute for this a view of "eternity as endless time". The important feature of the Greek view of time (the relevant document for our present purpose clearly being *Timaeus*, esp. 37c-38c) seems to me to be that time was a *likeness* of eternity; was, with space, the receptacle of Becoming, as distinct from Being, which exhibits duration without

change. Thus things which can be described in terms of time are like, but nevertheless other than, the 'eternal' or pure Being which cannot be so described. The problem for Plato, as for the New Testament eschatologist, was to provide a link between Being and Becoming, between the activity of God and the activity of His created universe. Plato does not, it appears, ground this link in his temporal concepts, but in such concepts as are contained in, for example, the theory of ideas. The point is that though this world exhibited movement and change, which could from the world's standpoint be described in temporal terms, the 'eternal', the divine, did none of these things and could not so be described. This world, with its time, was the 'image' or 'likeness' of the 'eternal', i.e. was precisely that which the eternal was, not.

It is, of course, clear that the Biblical view differs from this, and, it seems to me, it differs eschatologically in that it does attempt to form a link between God and His world in terms of activity which can be described somehow, in temporal terms, at any rate from the standpoint of man. Our modern mistake seems to be that we attempt our exegesis of this in terms of a theory of time which is too different from the actual Biblical view to be helpful. Nevertheless, though it may be true that Cullman rightly rejects the Greek view, I think it is worth considering whether what he rejects is a merely partial estimate of the Greek view, and whether the essence of the Greek view, which lies in the recognition that God and His creation exhibit different orders of being, is not perhaps quite so far removed from the Biblical view as is modernly supposed. To suggest this is not to go so far as to attempt to Platonize the Gospel.

(ii) *The Biblical view of Time.*

It is not necessary here to go closely into the Biblical usage of temporal terms like 'times', 'hour', 'day', 'age', and so forth. The ground has been thoroughly covered and is fairly familiar.

What is necessary is to stress again what is suggested throughout Marsh's book, that all these temporal concepts were founded upon the notion that 'times' were reckoned by the beginning and fulfilment of certain processes with certain aims: a 'season', for instance, being the period between, say, the sprouting of a bulb and the seeding of its flower. Each flower has its 'due season', and each of these 'seasons' is an exhibition of a process, but each overlaps others without necessarily giving what we would now describe as a 'temporal line'. This, I take it, is the root of Marsh's criticism of Cullman referred to above. It is here that the Biblical view differs from the Greek view, in which time is measured by the revolution of the planets, rather than the working out of particular processes, a point clearly brought out by Cornford in his commentary on the

Timaeus (Plato's *Cosmology*—esp. pp. 101-105). The Biblical view was essentially an organic and relativistic view; each 'time' describing a process, and the 'last time' being that process which overlaps at least one other but is not itself overlapped in turn.

This Biblical view, then, is, rightly, a 'pessimistic' one in that it recognizes that there is a limit to the development of a process and, in turn, to the development of all processes which are other than the process which is the activity of God Himself. For the ancient world, Greek as well as Hebrew, the world is, to use the modern cliché, 'running down', is coming to an end, each successive age being, as it were, less 'Golden' than the previous one, or, to put it more strictly, than the age which it overlaps.

The Christian account, it is plain, changes this. It seems to me that the New Testament suggests that this overlapping of times is not, as for the Greeks, fundamentally hopeless (cf. Aristotle, *Physics* iv. 223b, 13 ff.) or, as for the Hebrews, something to bolster up a hope for the future salvation of a chosen people (cf. Cullman, *Christ and Time*, Chap. V), but is an inevitable and acceptable process because what is important about it is not the bare overlapping of *καιροι*, the temporal history of man, but the newly demonstrated ability of man properly to fulfil these *καιροι* by the recognition and affirmation of his relationship to God and of God to him, to accept and act upon them as a 'redemptive line' offering opportunities to man for the proper orientation of his activity in consonance with God's intentions. This I take to be the essence of salvation doctrine. This assessment, I believe, is found in the New Testament pages, but one's difficulty with it arises because, since their composition, our exegesis has in the main been conducted in the light of quite a different attitude to time, the Renaissance attitude, which developed into the nineteenth century and 'evolutionary' view within the context of which we still tend to think, in spite of more (apparently) adequate modern views.

(iii) *The History of the Time Concept.*

The changes which have taken place in the view of time and the status of the universe have recently been brilliantly summarized by C. F. von Weizsäcker in a broadcast reproduced in *The Listener* of 8th January, 1953, entitled, "The New Picture of the Universe". This talk demands much more widespread attention from the theologians than it appears to have received and three rather long quotations from it are justifiable:

The world picture bequeathed to us by the Middle Ages, and deriving its main features from the ancients, was based on the idea of a world finite in space, and with a finite duration of events in time. . . . To this intellectual possession of the

Ancients was added the Christian notion of the world, a world created at some particular period whose end would come about on the Day of Judgment. . . . Here the universe, finite in space and time, was contrasted with God, the truly infinite being. The difference between the created universe and God the creator, who had not Himself been created, was expressed precisely in the view that this universe was finite whereas God was infinite. During the Renaissance and since, this notion has undergone a progressive dissolution. The attributes of God the infinite were transferred on to the universe, and so it acquired the importance which, in the medieval conception, had been reserved for God.

Von Weizsäcker goes on to outline the modern findings of science on this question, showing that we must "reckon with the possibility of the world having a finite duration, based not on fantasy, but on fairly concrete astronomical evidence." He goes on to observe that eternity has been understood as "endless time whose analogue is endless space."

And what I said amounts to this, that our science doubts both of them. It regards it as possible that space and time are finite; not in the sense of the world being, so to speak, packed into an immense crate somewhere in space, nor of 'time having begun at some moment in time', but in the sense of time and the world having begun together and of the concepts 'world' and 'time' not being applicable to the so-called Before. . . . Hence there is no meaning in speaking of a time before there was a world. Applied to that reality behind the world which we mean by saying 'God', the word eternity does not mean endless existence in time, but an existence which can no longer be understood in temporal concepts.

He continues later :

. . . . I should like to designate the 'quasi-religion of secularization', an expression of the outlook that transferred the attributes of God on to the world.

Secularization is an ambiguous term. It may mean that we may rediscover the attributes of God in the world to the extent of our earnest conviction that we can encounter God everywhere. And I think, in this sense, secularization is even a necessity from the religious point of view. Alternatively we may transfer the attributes of God on to the world by supposing that, by putting the world in the place of God, we get rid of God. This opinion, this open or hidden hope, had become more and more dominant in the nineteenth century. . . . The Christian hope of eternal life has been transformed into the hope for an eternal duration of this our universe. I may remark that hereby a reasonable hope has been transformed into an unreasonable one. Life eternal means not everlasting life, but a life taking part in that essence of God which is supra-temporal. . . . But now, to my mind, this 'religion of seculari-

zation' is foundering at all points in the twentieth century. It is foundering on the fact that the world does not possess the infinitude and certainty we hoped of it when we transferred on to it the attributes of God.

These passages speak for themselves, the more plainly in their full context. If von Weizsäcker is right and the Newtonian concepts of Absolute Time and Space are no longer adequate to explain the observable features of the universe in which we are placed, we find that we have, in our present century, returned to a view of time which is essentially that of the Bible, an organic view of time in which, though we now express it in formally relativistic terms, time, as for the Bible, is the description of the working out of processes.

(iv) *Time and Entropy.*

There is a further aspect of the modern notion of time which, though as yet in dispute amongst the scientists, is, I think, important and perhaps vital for our study, and that is the concept of entropy. This is not the place to go into the details, which in any case have again been recently set out in various series of broadcasts. The essential point is that, on this view, the only method of assessing the relationships which we characterize by 'before' and 'after' which is available to the scientist in a purely relativistic time-framework, is the fact that all entities which go to make up the observable universe appear to be steadily moving towards a state of complete heat equilibrium, of ultimate stability, and, it has been maintained, therefore of utter dissolution. This is the modern statement of the "running down of the universe" which we saw lay behind the ancient views, and it is one which is clearly important for eschatology, for, as Eddington once asked, "Since when has the teaching 'that heaven and earth shall pass away' become ecclesiastically unorthodox?"

The important feature for our present purpose is to notice that, in a view of this kind, 'time' is simply one kind of description of observed states of relationship between occasions. Time is, in short, no longer a fundamental category. Further, and this seems the proper ground for the rejection of the Greek view, it is no longer necessary to suppose that 'temporal' change is an image of or even a section of 'eternity'. Indeed it exposes the weakness of the Greek view which, at any rate in the *Timaeus*, lies in the failure to appreciate that "time as the moving image of eternity" is only effective if the temporal process is itself unending, keeps on going on; a view which is inconsistent with the assertion that time comes into being with the creation of the universe. By the same token, this view effectively disposes of Cullman's treatment of eternity

as endless time. This view also sharply uncovers the problem of how eternity and time are to be distinguished, and exposes the essential fallacy of attempting to make this distinction between the concepts in terms of either one of them.

III. *The implications of a modern view of Time for the Eschatologist.*

The philosopher, it seems to me, has to call upon the eschatologist to give a reasonable account of the way in which an event which we call the advent-parousia event, which by definition is not wholly of this universe, comes to be, at its inception, wholly of this universe, then, in the course of its development, reverts to its prior status as not wholly so: and further, how this event, which for human history, at least, inaugurates a 'new age', continues to exist, as an event whose end is not yet come in terms of temporal history, over and above the course of human historical events which continues to unfold subsequent to its inception; how, to put it in terms of Marsh's criticism of Cullman, Christ is at once the 'mid-point' and the fulfilment.

There seem to be two features involved in giving an account of this. Firstly, that in the state of knowledge in which we reject the Newtonian view of time and space as inadequate, and substitute a relativistic and entropic view, there is no *prima facie* difficulty in accepting the contention that, whilst the events of human history unfold in the human time-scale, another event, the advent-parousia event, exists as a process over and above this and occupies a duration of its own, defined by its inception and the completion of its purpose. A view of this kind is not very dissimilar, for instance, from Cullman's, when he suggests that the Christian's tension derives from living in two time-scales at once, except that it makes it clear that the important point is not that the Christian simply lives in two time-scales at once (for this is possible in other than purely Christian terms, e.g. in reading a novel), but that one aspect of the Christian's location in the nature of things, his location *vis-à-vis* God, requires the envisagement of two coexisting time scales to explain it, one of which describes the process through which he is going in his endeavour to orientate himself towards God's intentions, the other describing the mode of exhibition of God's intentions in virtue of which man makes that endeavour.

This expresses adequately enough the purpose of the advent-parousia event in so far as it applies to the salvation of man and the endeavour of man to accord himself with that purpose. But, when the matter is put in this way, it is immediately obvious that the two time-scales are only *descriptions* of events that are happening and by no means an *explanation* of their relationship.

Secondly, and arising out of this, an account of this relationship in terms of time, usefully descriptive though it is for the question of the salvation of man, cannot be also an account of the relationship of God to the world and of the world to God, since whatever can be described in temporal terms (and here it does not affect the argument, I think, whether we use Newtonian time-concepts or relativistic ones) is clearly other than the activity which is God, which, as we have suggested, cannot be so described. Posed in this way of course the problem is the perennial one of finding the link between Being and Becoming. The clue to this, for the eschatologist, I suppose, might lie in taking seriously the fact that what is common to both is the activity implied in existence; which is modern enough when we reflect that a contemporary definition of the existence of an entity takes the form of "a thing is what it is because it does what it does", rather than as in earlier science, "a thing does what it does because it is what it is"—in short, the modern view of existence as defined by process.

It is immediately obvious from this that just as the processes, which are, on the one hand, the advent-parousia event and, on the other, the history of man, are related in terms of their activity one upon the other, an interaction which can be described in temporal terms; so the activity which is God, the activity which is the advent-parousia event and the activity which is human history can be conceived as interacting processes, even though the activity which is God cannot be described in temporal terms. This is, of course, simply to say in a roundabout way that, linked though they are, the activity of God and the activity of man are qualitatively different. But this is to go no further than to point out that the standard theological answer to the problem of defining this relation by asserting the world as 'temporal' and God as 'eternal' and that at an arbitrary point in the temporal history of man the eternal "breaks in" to manifest its interest in it and concern for it, will not do. For a view of that kind, it seems to me, must make God exist as Absolute Time and Space and, by virtue of His entry into them, the world's time and space to be seen as sections of those absolutes. That is to make these abstractions from an observed world into attributes of God, the form of secularization mentioned by von Weizsäcker, in reverse, as it were. And if, in any case, these abstractions are now found to be false and inadequate abstractions, the relationship in question is not only falsely explained, but not explained at all by temporal concepts.

Quite apart from religious and theological considerations or from considerations of human faith, we are, I take it, under logical compulsion to assert that God exists, though we are under no such compulsion to say how He exists. Given His existence, however,

we are at least committed to observe that He exists either in our relative space-times, or in His own relative space-time, or in no space-time at all. If He does the first, He is as, and of, the world and we are in the trap of pantheism: if He does the second, He is in the same situation as the advent-parousia event as described at I(iv) above, i.e. His existence in His space-time framework is conditioned by the inception and fulfilment of His intention; which is, in effect, to assert that His attributes are at least limited, and if this were so, the concept of eternity would go by the board. (It may be that this concept has to go by the board anyway, but if so, it is not for this reason.) We are therefore left with the third possibility, that the assertion of God's existence entails no assertion as to His spatio-temporal location; indeed, that time and space are categories of thought that are useless to define the problem of the relationship of God to the world and of the world to God. This attitude is consistent, at least, with the proposition, made at II(iv) above, that time (the case for treating space similarly is there ignored) is no longer a fundamental category of human thought.

IV. *God, the world and the concept of process.*

In what way then are we to account for the fully documented account that God did 'enter' the affairs of this world on certain special occasions, culminating in one special occasion? If time and space are useless categories here, we must cast about for another.

The examination of the time concepts which we have made and the recognition of the essential nature of the Biblical view of time, and particularly of *καιροι* as "opportunities for doing", seems to offer the clue. The answer seems to me to go behind the concepts of time which, as we have seen, are descriptive rather than fundamental, to what they are in fact descriptive of, namely, the concept of process. I have suggested that the advent-parousia event is necessary so that man can consciously orientate himself to God's intentions. The revelation of these intentions, to be effective for man, must be located in the human time-scale: that is, it must be seen by man as a process of the same order as those with which he is familiar—(the Word made flesh?), and it is in this way that the advent, the life of Christ and the crucifixion are effective. They are effective in that, from the standpoint of man, they provide that explicit exhibition of God's intentions which he requires, in a mode which he is able to assess; and they are effective from the standpoint of God, in that they therefore contribute to the satisfaction which is His in His creation. This is to place the link between God and the world squarely in the activity which is the advent-parousia event without resorting to devices to explain it other than the nature of that activity as revealed in the New Testament. The

activity of God in the world is thus treated in terms of the notion of consonance of purpose which may lie behind such passages as *Colossians*, i, 12-20 to which we have already referred.

It is clear enough that God's intentions are being worked out both in history and in human history, and have always been so since the creation and since the emergence of man. This is what the Old Testament is fundamentally about, and what is so clearly brought out by Marsh in his treatment of the Exodus theme and imagery in *The Fullness of Time*. The prophets proclaim the possibility of the consonance of the activities of man and the intentions of God in face of its apparently difficult attainment; and the advent-parousia event 'fulfils' these prophecies in the demonstration that this possibility is a real and not simply a theoretical or prophetic possibility, that it has indeed, in one human occasion at least, been explicitly actual. This demonstration clearly, in terms of human history, has effected a deeper realization of this possibility than before and given an example of the modes by which it is to be realized in the life of man. Thus the 'new age', one in which the consonance of man's activities with God's intentions is steadily becoming more probable, begins, from the standpoint of man, with the Advent, and, from the standpoint of God, with the creation of the universe (or universes), and ends when this possibility, both as to human history and to history, is wholly realized.

REVIEWS

The reviews are in four divisions:

Theology and relevant studies: works of scholarship ranging from dogmatic theology and church history to psychology and cosmology.

Religion, life and work: books concerned with the daily application of religion and its popular exposition.

Miscellanea, a limited selection from current general literature.

Periodical publications.

THEOLOGY AND RELEVANT STUDIES

Natural Religion and Christian Theology. Gifford Lectures, 1951-52. Second Series: **Experience and Interpretation.** By CHARLES E. RAVEN. 227 pp. C.U.P. 21s.

Some Aspects of the Conflict between Science and Religion. The A. S. Eddington Memorial Lecture, 1953. By H. H. PRICE. 54 pp. C.U.P. 3s. 6d.

Professor Raven's second volume opens with a chapter called *The New Reformation*, a development promoted by liberal theological thinking of the British kind and now held up by "the revolt against reason which has been so characteristic of recent orthodoxy". This revolt he ascribes to a mistrust of reason "in its present obsession with the mathematical and the quantitative", to a continuance of fundamentalism, and to a revival of transcendentalist insistence upon the unknowable otherness of God. His first volume, reviewed in this journal in October 1953, reinterpreted the scientific enterprise so as to give a larger view of reason. His first task in this second volume is to offer an account of religious experience in terms very similar to those propounded by Oman. It is claimed "that the fundamental human response to the universe is an awareness of an existence which is permanent, unitary and inclusive, which at once welcomes us and judges us To know in faith the reality disclosed by [this experience], to live eternally to the fullest possible degree, and to conform all our activities to this eternal relationship; this is our supreme human obligation" (p. 185f.). The purpose of the book is to show "that this relationship can be interpreted in terms of the Christian revelation in a manner compatible with our present scientific outlook". Two chapters on the significance of Jesus and the doctrine of His Person prepare the ground for a Christian evaluation of "the orderly sequence of events in the cosmos and the continuity and consistency of the creative process". Two further chapters on the Spirit contain the theology of God in us as an urge (p. 162), a creativity or *nisus* manifested in the whole and in every particular, a holistic principle whose effect can be seen throughout the process of creation (p. 155). The Christian revelation is the disclosure within the realities of experience of an adequate symbol of the divine, the perfect Son of Man, towards whom the creative process consistently points. His work, as our example and representative (but in no sense a substitute!), is to give the Spirit free course: "to quicken sensitiveness, to heighten vitality, to remove callousness and so to enable response to the beauty and meaning and worth of the world and a full reception of the divine inflowing" (p. 151). I share

Canon Raven's conviction that "freedom" and "love" are the realities to be established in all their richness and centrality by Christian thinking and practice. So, for that matter, does Barth, and I am sorry that the lectures are marred by so many antitheses between what "some of us" hold and what is held by those who tend towards "transcendentalism and pessimism"—antitheses which ring hollow because in so many matters Canon Raven has not been able to move sympathetically outside his own consolidated experience. The "integrative experience" and the theology which expresses it, both of which are offered to men in this world (albeit in a provisional form), do not seem to me to coincide with what he describes. But any account of them which falls short of this moving and heartening description will certainly not do. Perhaps, however, it will take some account of righteousness as a Biblical theme and therefore not be so flummoxed by the problem of law (pp. 182-184), and also of the point that the fact of Jesus Christ is the fact of an eschatological new creation which is not smoothly continuous with the old creative process.

Professor Price's lecture begins with a clear analysis of the cleavage between scientific Naturalism and the religious experience for which cognitive claims are made. He divides religious propositions into basic theistic ones and "other-worldly" ones, and asks about the conditions under which each class is upheld. "Adherents of the religious outlook are committed to two assertions about human nature which scientifically educated persons find utterly incredible". These are: that some human beings have cognitive capacities of a very peculiar sort; and that human personality has a non-bodily constituent which continues after the death of the body to exist in "other worlds". The second part of the lecture is an invaluable account by an acknowledged expert of the bearing on all this of psychical research. This distinguished piece of philosophical analysis ends with an assurance that we may justifiably assert that the religious conception of human personality "is not certainly and obviously false, as the majority of Western educated people now assume that it is". A meagre diet if compared with that provided by Canon Raven? It depends what you want.

W. A. WHITEHOUSE.

Religion and the Modern Mind. By W. T. STACE. 301 pp. Macmillan. 21s.

The field of study still known as Philosophy of Religion is notoriously in a state of confusion and the best of the standard textbooks make singularly unprofitable reading. Here is a book, written by the Professor of Philosophy at Princeton, which carries the reader through the mill in a lively and economical fashion. If at the end he is dissatisfied with the author's "reasonable conclusions about the great problems which face us", he will at any rate have recovered his bearings. The book falls into three parts. In the first part we are reminded of those features of the medieval world-picture which have survived in religious thinking with increasing difficulty: the idea of God, necessarily anthropomorphic; the idea of a world-purpose, so that there is a promise of harmony in obedience to a divine plan; and the idea of the world as a moral order, which means that morals are not entirely dependent on human purposes but reflect something of cosmic significance. In the second part we have an admirable account of the rise of modern science, and of the thought-transitions (not imposed by strict logic) by which that science has undermined the power of these ideas. After discussing the effect on religion and on morality, Professor Stace reviews the effect in philosophy, with Naturalism coming to maturity in a line from Descartes to Ayer against a line of protest ranging from Descartes again to the absolute idealists. This is well done, and the author points out faithfully

where the religious man must respect the Naturalist point of view. The third part consists of two chapters, on the problem of religious truth and on the problem of morals. From *The Cocktail Party* we learn to appreciate religion as a 'way' from the hollowness, vacancy and futility which lurk beneath the surface of even pleasant experience, to an 'experience' and 'destination' which can only be hinted at 'in myths and images'. Religious statements, which are not true when taken literally, have a truth (which at one time the author roundly denied), in that they hint at that which is known, but known inexpressibly, in mystical experience. Moral statements can be provided with an objective ground without necessarily appealing to religious experience, for there are three common human purposes which are the sources of universal rules of conduct—self-preservation, physical health and happiness. The author shows his power for clear and constructive thinking in his elaboration of this thesis, as also in his analysis of free-will which is the prelude to it. In the last resort, however, it is only the religious (mystical) experience of the unity of all, where there is no division between good for self and good for others, which authenticates objective morality. The book provides a clear and workmanlike account of the problem raised by religion, in all its bearings, by an eminent and sympathetic philosopher. It is an excellent starting point both for philosophical elaborations and for theological comment.

W. A. WHITEHOUSE.

The Bible Doctrine of Sin. By C. RYDER SMITH. 222 pp. Epworth. 20s.

Dr. Ryder Smith continues his impressive series of volumes on biblical theology with a thoroughgoing survey of what the Bible teaches regarding Sin and God's ways with sinners. P. T. Forsyth used to divide theological books into two classes: those we can read in an armchair or with our feet on the mantelpiece, and those that require to be read at our desk with a notebook at hand. This book falls into the second category. Like its predecessors it is packed so full of important things that, in spite of the author's easy and attractive style, it demands our full concentration. Nowhere else in English do we find so careful and exhaustive an exposition of the biblical material as that which Dr. Ryder Smith is giving us in this series. He is particularly strong on the linguistic foundations, and his discussion of the biblical words provides any preacher with a rich homiletic harvest. As Dr. Ryder Smith admits, the biblical doctrine of Sin cannot be treated in isolation from the doctrines of Man and of Grace. The present book is therefore a bridge between its immediate predecessor, *The Doctrine of Man*, and its projected successor, which will deal with Grace. Meanwhile it is complete in itself, and is decidedly a book for ministers to possess and study.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

The Thought of the Prophets. By ISRAEL I. MATTUCK. 176 pp. Allen and Unwin. 9s. 6d.

This is No. 11 of the *Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West*, written by the leader of liberal Judaism in Britain. Rabbi Mattuck starts by explaining that exigencies of space compelled him to brevity of method; but this does not really detract from the value of his study, though absence of notes and discussion has its dangers. He states his aim as "to present the ideas of the Prophets in a way which might show their permanent relevance to all human life and thought" (p. 16). This, naturally, has particular reference to present conditions of life and thought, as when he lays emphasis on "supra-personality" in God, on the absolute nature of ethical standards, on the moral value of community without any devaluation of individual personality within it, on the positive functions of govern-

ment, and on the prophetic philosophy of history contrasted with modern economic determinism. In dealing with the subject he takes a "synoptic" view of prophetic thought, keeping away as far as possible from questions of date and authorship in order to obtain the general outline of the ideas common to all the "writing prophets." His emphasis is laid strongly on the moral demands the prophets brought out of their national religion. While there is little that is new in the book, it does provide a brief and interesting analysis.

A. MORTON PRICE.

The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels. MS. of WILFRED KNOX, edited by H. Chadwick. 162 pp. C.U.P. 21s.

It is good news that the work which Dr. Wilfred Knox left unpublished at his death in 1950 is not to be lost to us, and that its editing has been undertaken by Henry Chadwick. This volume deals with Mark, and there is to be a further volume on Matthew-Luke.

The sources revealed in this new analysis are a group of Conflict-stories, a "Twelve" source which included an account of the Passion, a Passion story independent of the "Twelve" source, Parables, the Corban passage, three miracles (the deaf stammerer, the blind man of Bethesda and Bartimaeus), a denunciation of Pharisees and the apocalypse (ch. xiii). Other possibilities such as an account of Jesus' conquest of the demons Knox considers too conjectural. This argument will not command complete assent, and is strongest on the matter of Conflict-stories and Parables. But it re-opens the question of Mark's sources and demonstrates that source-criticism is not driven from the field, although Form Criticism has seemed for a generation to be in possession of the main citadel. Knox has learned the form-critical method, but still regards source-analysis as the more useful occupation. He dates his newly-detected sources c. 40 A.D. and claims high historical value for them. Thus his study is a positive re-assertion of the reliability of the tradition, in spite of the relative lateness of the completed Gospels.

We feel bound to point out a further significance in this work of Knox in relation to new tendencies of theological interpretation. The hypothesis of sources here presented with such thoroughness is not compatible with the treatment of Mark offered in A. M. Farrer's recent study, which discerns careful artistry and theological allusion everywhere. Where such exegesis finds a subtle pattern Knox is likely to see only a reduplication of sources (e.g. the threefold prediction of the Passion). There are unfounded inferences in Knox, but he is a safer guide to the meaning of Mark's Gospel than some more avowedly theological interpretations.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek. By C. F. D. MOULE. 241 pp. C.U.P. 25s.

In this work the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge has met a real need. Many students and exegetes would like a competence beyond that provided by the smaller grammars, but have no hope of mastering the general corpus of Greek literature and the massive authorities whereby it could properly be obtained. This idiom-book exactly meets their requirements. Twenty-seven chapters deal with such matters as tense, the article, conditional clauses, indirect speech, Semitisms, Latinisms, and so forth. The material is all relevant to the exegesis of the New Testament, illustrations and references are to the exact point, and the author is not only master of the required range but also knows exactly how to use it. Indexes enable topics, Greek words and individual texts to be checked as

required. Students will find this a valuable aid to their studies, and working ministers will find it a very present help for confident exegesis.

A. R. VINE.

New Testament Pattern. By JEAN-LOUIS LEUBA. 163 pp. Lutterworth. 17s. 6d.

This is Volume I of a new series of "Lutterworth Studies in Church and Bible" and is a translation by Harold Knight of *L'Institution et l'Événement* by Jean-Louis Leuba. Dr. Leuba is pastor of the French Reformed Church in Basle and editor of *Verbum Caro*. The book is a careful examination of the New Testament origins of the tension between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant', the one stressing the continuity of the Church, its institutional character, its tradition, its "apostolic succession" and its sacramental idea of the ministry, the other standing for the liberty of the Holy Spirit, the priesthood of all believers, the "ever-renewed initiatives" by which God works in His Church, and the charismatic nature of the ministry. These two positions, called by Dr. Leuba the "institutional" and the "spiritual", form a dualism which is traceable back to New Testament times. Thus Dr. Leuba examines the differences between the two categories of the titles of Jesus (Son of David is institutional, Son of Man is spiritual), the two apostolates (of the Twelve which is institutional and of Paul which is spiritual), and the two conceptions of the Church (institutional in Jewish Christianity, spiritual in Gentile) and shows how unity was achieved. The whole treatment is careful and learned and, even if it seems at times that the author presses his thesis too hard and fits his facts into too rigid a scheme, his study shows that the "New Testament pattern" is not one of uniformity but of a creative unification which should guide us to a discovery of the true nature of the Church.

W. GORDON ROBINSON.

The Trial of Jesus (O.U.P., 3s. 6d.) is the sixth annual lecture of the Friends of Dr. Williams's Library, delivered by Professor G. D. Kilpatrick. Lietzmann, in his classic discussion of this question, maintained that the Sanhedrin was competent to inflict the death penalty. He therefore rejected the statement attributed to the Jews in *John* 18³¹, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death", and the supporting evidence of the Palestinian Talmud. But since Jesus was crucified, a Roman form of punishment, He was sentenced by a Roman court. Consequently, the trial before the Sanhedrin in *Mark* 14⁵⁵⁻⁶⁵ is unhistorical, and is an early instance of the tendency to increase the guilt of the Jews and to minimize that of Pilate. Dr. Kilpatrick skilfully demolishes this argument, and makes out a good case for the substantial trustworthiness of both the Gospel passages mentioned above. Though brief, this study is an important contribution to a fascinating topic.

In *The Christian and his Bible* (Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 3s. 6d.) Mr. Douglas Johnson writes from the conservative standpoint. A good deal of ground is covered in under 150 pages, and it is well-trodden ground. It must be conceded, however, that the apostolic authorship of II *Peter*, for instance, is left "an open question", and is not categorically affirmed as a fact. This example illustrates the good sense of the writer; yet this booklet exposes to the discerning reader the inherent weakness of Biblical conservatism.

The Writings of St. Luke by the Rev. Roland Koh (Hongkong: Diocesan Literature Committee, 3s. 6d.) is written to uphold the historicity of the Lukan writings. The "former treatise" is taken to mean Proto-Luke, and the view is put forward that *Acts* precedes, not follows, the Third Gospel as we have it, and was written about A.D. 63 when St. Paul was still

preaching in Rome. The author, who does not claim to be a professional scholar, is not convincing in his thesis of the priority of *Acts*; but for a similar theory cf. C. S. C. Williams in *Expository Times*, June 1953, pp. 283f.

Professor Gilbert Murray's *Hellenism and the Modern World* (Allen & Unwin, 5s.) consists of six talks given on the Radio-diffusion Française and repeated, with some revision, on the B.B.C. Home Service in April-May 1953. The book is a defence of Western civilization as superior to any other because it is heir to the traditions of Athens, Rome and Jerusalem. The last section, 'Hellene and Barbarian', asks the vital question whether our European Hellas will succeed in the quest for Concord where the old Hellas failed. Should she lose her freedom, we are to take comfort in the thought of the greater Rome across the Atlantic "which may at the best establish a true world Peace, and will at the worst maintain in an ocean of barbarism a large and enduring island of true Hellenic life."

A. J. B. HIGGINS.

Early Christian Worship. By O. CULLMANN. Translated by A. S. Todd and J. B. Torrance. Studies in Biblical Theology No. 10. S.C.M. Press. 124 pp. 8s.

This book is in two parts. The first deals with the basic characteristics of the earliest Christian worship, and proves, if proof were still needed, that the normal service in New Testament times was the Lord's Supper including the service of the Word, these not being separate acts of worship as they are so often today, to our spiritual impoverishment. The second and longer part is a study of St. John's Gospel and indicates the interest in the Church's worship and sacraments, which is a feature not of odd passages but of the Gospel as a whole: the historical incarnation of Christ is continued in His continued taking of flesh in the sacraments; the Christ of history is the Christ of the community; He is both "past event and liturgical event". The argument is impressive, though with questionable overstatements, such as the description of the prayer of ch. xvii as "a typical eucharistic prayer". We should not conclude that this reference to the sacraments is the dominant interest of the Fourth Evangelist. The translation is generally adequate, but several misprints have been left, especially in the footnotes.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

The Apostolic Succession. By ARNOLD EHRLHARDT. 168 pp. Lutterworth Press. 16s.

Those who hold that Apostolic succession is one of the essential marks of the Church are hard put to it to consolidate their standing ground in the first two centuries. The records are scanty, and such documents as exist are often in question both as to date and integrity. The case in favour was forcefully put in *The Apostolic Ministry*, edited by Dr. Kirk, Bishop of Oxford, which appeared in 1946. Now doubts are raised as to the security of the conclusions of that work by the learned Rector of St. Clement's, Manchester. He examines with critical care both the rise of the idea of Apostolic succession and the lines of succession themselves. He first works over familiar ground in showing how diverse were the practices in the earliest churches; he then deals critically with the evidence of Eusebius and others; and he concludes that the doctrine had not taken definite shape until Irenaeus: "Out of these various and somewhat disparate elements Irenaeus created the doctrine of the Apostolic succession" (p. 159). Dr. Ehrhardt's work can be unhesitatingly commended to those who desire fully appraised documentation on this thorny subject.

A. R. VINE.

St. Augustine's Enchiridion. Translated and edited by ERNEST EVANS. 146 pp. S.P.C.K. 15s.

An *enchiridion* is a little book that can be held in the hand. St. Augustine was asked by Laurentius, a Roman Christian, to write him such a little book on the essentials of the Christian faith. Laurentius was very wise, for he thus persuaded Augustine, who was usually so prolix, to produce a work which in small compass outlines the Christian faith as the great Doctor understood it. It deals with the nature of God, the Fall, sin, the doctrine of election, redemption, grace, the resurrection and other great themes. This translation will be welcomed by scholars, and may be warmly commended to any who wish to discover in short compass what St. Augustine really taught. Canon Evans writes an easy-running translation; but detailed testing in a few points soon gives confidence in his Latinity. His notes justify his version in difficult places, and give such other information as may be needful. His introduction provides a good summary of the life and work of Augustine, though it may be doubted whether any good purpose is served by glossing over the error of his early ways. It is true that reference is made to the *Confessions*, "too well known to need repetition", but many readers would know as little of the *Confessions* as of other matters which Canon Evans rightly explains. But this is a minor criticism of a useful and excellent piece of work, which can be confidently commended.

A. R. VINE.

Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253. By J. H. SRAWLEY. Lincoln Minster Pamphlets No. 7. Friends of Lincoln Cathedral. 36 pp. 3s.

"There is in the annals of the English church", writes Dr. Srawley at the conclusion of this brief but scholarly and documented study, "no name with a greater claim to commemoration and lasting remembrance than that of this great bishop of Lincoln." Nor is that mere local patriotism on the part of a Canon of Lincoln; the University of Oxford has officially commemorated the death in October 1253 of this chancellor at least as distinguished as any of his successors. "Probably no one had a greater influence upon English thought and English literature for the two centuries following his time than Bishop Grosseteste": that was a considered judgment fifty years ago. For moderns who want to know what this saintly bishop and scholar was really like, Dr. Srawley has written this excellent pamphlet.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By ROLAND BAINTON. 276 pp. Hodder & Stoughton. 20s.

The Travail of Religious Liberty. By ROLAND BAINTON. 266 pp. Lutterworth. 15s.

Two years ago we reviewed in this journal Roland Bainton's *Here I Stand: a Life of Martin Luther*. That work combined most attractive presentation with thoroughly reliable scholarship; those whose interest in the Reformation was thereby stimulated have here two more books of a similar style.

The former, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, gives in its first ten chapters a survey of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, Geneva and England, contrasts Lutheranism and Calvinism, does justice to the Anabaptists, gives living portraits of the greater leaders like Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and Knox, and shows how the Elizabethan Settlement was reached in England. This could scarcely be done more vividly and effectively in the space available, and an adequate bibliography enables points of interest

to be checked and followed. The last three chapters are more discursive, and deal with the repercussions of the Reformation in the political, economic and social spheres. This book can be cordially recommended to the general reader wishing for a readable work on the Reformation, and to students who would like to add life and colour to what they already know.

The second, *The Travail of Religious Liberty*, presupposes at least a general knowledge of the Reformation period. It develops, on the basis of nine selected biographies, certain observations on persecution, tolerance, inevitable tension, and the tortuous road of progress. It is only right that the story of Thomas of Torquemada, the Spanish Inquisitor, should be followed by those of Calvin and Servetus, Protestant persecutor and persecuted. The other six well illustrate Dr. Bainton's points, though, with the exception of Milton and Locke, they may not be so generally well known: Castellio, Joris, Ochino, and Roger Williams. This book provides excellent reading for the reflective student of history; and he may have confidence in his guide, for Professor Bainton has been specializing in Reformation studies at Yale for over thirty years. A. R. VINE.

Coverdale and his Bibles. By J. F. MOZLEY. Lutterworth Press. 359 pp. 27s. 6d.

Miles Coverdale, the translator of the Bible, who died in his bed "full of years and honour", tends to fall out of account between the two martyrs, William Tyndale, whose translation of the New Testament appeared in 1526, and John Rogers alias Thomas Matthew, whose translation of the Bible, published in 1537, was formally licensed by Henry VIII with injunctions that it be placed in every parish church. Yet, as the first translation into English of the whole Bible, Coverdale's *Biblia* of 1535 deserves attention, and just such minute and patient attention as is here provided. Dr. Mozley carefully analyzes Coverdale's use of five earlier translations, the Vulgate, Luther's, Tyndale's, the Dominican Pagninus' (1528), and, as "his chief prop and guide", the Zurich Bible (1524-29) inspired by Zwingli. Coverdale "built better than he knew. His version was indeed superseded, but part of it was built into the new structure that arose upon its ruins".

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne. Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts, Volume II. Edited by ALBERT PEEL and LELAND H. CARLSON. Allen and Unwin, for the Sir Halley Stewart Trust. 560 pp. 35s.

It is heartening that the second of these promised volumes, seven in all, is now in print. It contains, by Harrison, two works published in 1583 and one printed by Dr. Peel in 1920; and by Browne, five works published in 1582-85. Fragments of other writings now lost, as printed (mostly) by contemporary controvertists, are also included, together with Browne's submission to Whitgift, Browne's will, fragments of a letter by Browne and a letter by Harrison. In Browne's case the editors might have confirmed the hope that they offer a complete *corpus* by reference to the list of his published works in Peter Fairlambe's *Recantation of a Brownist* (1606); Fairlambe also indicates that Browne's second reply to Stephen Bredwell, here treated as on a par with his (also lost) first reply, was not in fact published.

An assessment of Browne's theology and ecclesiology is now made easier, but would require not a review but a book, or at least an article such as will shortly appear from Dr. Paul's pen in the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society. Elucidations towards this assessment are not provided: annotation is virtually absent and the introduction, which is

signed by Professor Carlson although in part clearly written by Dr. Peel, is brief. Now that Dr. Peel's share of the editing is largely completed, is it too late to ask that Professor Carlson should have the remaining dry bones reproduced by photographic means and use his own gifts in putting a little flesh on them?

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Studies in Stuart Wales. By A. H. DODD. Cardiff; University of Wales Press. 251 pp. 15s.

With these six studies, which are largely based on MS. material, Professor Dodd carries further his fine Hartwell Jones Memorial Lecture of 1947 (published in 1949 in the *Transactions* of the Cymmrodorion Society). In the longest of them, a careful analysis of the successive county committees during the Protestant *régime*, he remarks "the limited circle of parliamentary supporters" in Wales, who, many of them inter-related as they were, largely shared the work between them. He shows how the committees "became less representative of county society than of the Saints". In general, however, the Commonwealth succeeded in harnessing "the traditional forces of county society", if with some widening in its social basis. Even after the Restoration "family remained, as it had always been, the dominant *motif* in elections, party being at first no more than a borrowed battle-cry". The "Welsh interest", however, as "a national *bloc*", "was one of the things the Restoration failed to restore". 1688, moreover, saw the end of "the crown" as "the focus of Welsh political life"; and "towards parliament Wales stood in no such special relationship". Other studies portray Ludlow as "A Lost Capital" and Ireland as a country in whose government, ecclesiastical as well as political, Welshmen were prominent throughout the seventeenth century.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

A History of Unitarianism: In Transylvania, England and America. By EARL MORSE WILBUR. 518 pp. Harvard University Press; London: Cumberledge. 40s.

To readers unfamiliar, as most of us must be, with the history of Transylvania, that unhappy country "kicked about like a football between Turkey and the Empire", the first pages of this book make fascinating reading. In the 16th century not merely did the Reformation sweep through the country, so that "only eight families and three magnates . . . remained Catholic" and "for a century and a half Transylvania had no Catholic Bishop", but under the leadership of Francis David and with the support of John Sigismund (d. 1571), "the only Unitarian King in history", "the new religion soon held the first place in Transylvania", which also enjoyed complete religious freedom and toleration, "as contrasted with all the other nations of the time". The later history shows a reversion to Roman Catholic hegemony and persecution, with the Jesuits as the villains of the piece. The Unitarians were excluded from holding public office; their churches were seized; at one time they might not even worship at home, if more than two persons were present.

The second part of the book, though equally admirable in its vigour and lucidity, is more conventional, or at least more familiar. John Bidle, Samuel Clarke, Nathaniel Lardner, Francis Blackburne, Theophilus Lindsey, Joseph Priestley, Thomas Belsham, James Martineau: it is a story of great names—we may note here that Lardner, Priestley and Belsham were all Independents, Lardner then our "most learned theologian"—and till the nineteenth century of not much more than names: even in 1825 there were still only "over 200" Unitarian congregations in England (as against two in 1789). The history of Unitarianism in Ireland, Scotland and Wales is briefly traced, together with that of the General Baptists, Methodist

Unitarians and Christian Brethren, who since 1926 have been merged in the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches.

Passing over the American section of the book, I offer a few observations on the whole: (1) Unitarianism often appears as the end of a pilgrimage: as with Francis Dávid, *quovis mobilior vertumno*, who had been Lutheran Superintendent and then Reformed Superintendent before becoming Unitarian Superintendent; and with William Vidler (1758-1816), who had been Anglican, Independent, Baptist and Universalist in turn before joining the Unitarians. (2) In England (p. 262), as well as in America, men "first ceased to emphasize certain doctrines as of vital importance, then left them out of account, and finally deliberately abandoned them from conviction" (p. 385); and the change often took place as gradually and 'insensibly' as even Gibbon could wish. (3) Controversy can issue in strange results: as when William Sherlock's *Vindication of the . . . Trinity* (1690) converted Thomas Emlyn to Unitarianism; or when Robert Robinson, after writing a *Plea for the Divinity of . . . Christ* (1776), himself became a Unitarian. (4) The congregations at Dublin and Exeter, whose respective ministers, Emlyn and James Peirce, suffered exclusion for their Unitarianism, Emlyn being "the last Dissenter to suffer imprisonment for denial of the Trinity", themselves later became Unitarian. (5) A primary influence on modern Unitarianism, and perhaps a more abiding influence than Martineau's "theology based on the intuitions of the soul" is seen to be the philosophy of David Hartley, "a decided rationalist in principle", as Leslie Stephen calls him.

The book contains nearly 100 misprints, including several like those on p. 206, where 1551 and 1555 should be 1651 and 1655; but for these it is hard to blame Dr. Wilbur, who is now 87. The fine qualities of his earlier volume *Socinianism and its Antecedents*, received appreciative notice in these pages in 1947. He must be warmly congratulated on having completed his life-long task without in any way lowering those high standards which make a book a standard work.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Quakers and Education: As seen in their Schools in England. By W. A. CAMPBELL STEWART. 310 pp. Epworth Press. 30s.

This is a somewhat technical book, by a Professor of Education, based on a London Ph.D. thesis. The author is concerned with such things as costs, staffing and curriculum rather than with the place of Friends' schools in the wider field of Nonconformist education and the principles which distinguish them. The principles, however, appear by the way, as in the complaint from Ackworth in 1806 that "the simple garb" was being "cast aside" at home, thereby "opening a ready way for other deviations from a self-denying conduct"; in the entry in the Bootham Headmaster's diary for 1865, "On Seventh-day last I was enabled in patience and quietness to labour with a beloved boy . . . and when I found hardness yielding under kind and gentle words I could but rejoice"; and perhaps in the rule at Skipton in 1703, "Thou shalt not mock the Aged, Blind, Lame, or Idiots". The author considers the Society was, and is, "on the right wing of 'progressive' education". He agrees that the period 1695-1725 "must be regarded as the high-water mark of the Society's interest in its schools"; yet in 1840 a Friend could visit as many as 67 schools in the year.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist, a study in Religious Liberalism. By IRA V. BROWN. Harvard University Press; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege. \$5 or 40s.

It is perhaps too much to hope that this history of one of America's

leading religious publicists in the second half of the nineteenth century will have a large number of British readers. But the period is one of great importance for the understanding of our own religious situation. Lyman Abbott lived from 1835 to 1922. He edited *The Outlook*, a weekly journal concerned mainly with public issues from a Christian ethical outlook, from 1876-1922. He was also minister of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, from 1887-1899. He exemplifies in an interesting way the change from conservative orthodoxy to liberal immanentism on the part of one who was not afraid to convince the public of new ideas. He emphasized Christian unity. He persuaded thousands that science was not incompatible with religion. He emphasized the ethical rather than the dogmatic side of Christian faith and particularly its concern with social problems. He awakened Church people to America's international obligations. He was an influential public figure rather than a deep or exact thinker, and the nature of his achievements was greatly influenced by the fact that he had no formal theological training.

H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Alexander James Grieve. By CHARLES E. SURMAN. 100 pp. Lancashire Independent College, Manchester. 6s.

Though prepared primarily for alumni of the College of which he was for just over twenty years Principal, this biography of the late Dr. Grieve will be welcomed and valued in many other circles. Dr. Grieve combined in a remarkable manner exact scholarship, intense denominational conviction, evangelical fervour, and practical administrative ability. He was both a force and a beloved personality in the wider life of Congregationalism, and this intimate biography does justice both to his work and himself. None could have done this task better than Mr. Surman, who not only shared in many of his interests and labours, but was also an old student and a son-in-law! A valuable feature is the inclusion of a number of typical sermons and addresses, most of which are as pungent and to the point as when they were first delivered.

A. R. V.

The Nature of Christian Worship. By J. ALAN KAY. 115 pp. Epworth. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Kay illustrates four main elements in Christian worship—adoration, offering, receiving and making request—by reference to the Orthodox Liturgy, the Roman Mass, the Protestant Church Service and the occasional intercession service in which, respectively, those four elements are most prominent. He might have done greater justice to the structure of Reformed Church Worship, though he rightly emphasizes the importance attached to the sermon in Protestant services. Christian worship is offered through Christ and the corporate nature of the Church's worship is examined.

Chapter III, on "The Means of Worship", is in fact a discussion of the use of symbolism, the value of which is so often underestimated in Free Church circles. Other "means of worship", such as the use of the Bible and of hymns and psalms, are not considered. In Chapter IV, on "The Holy Communion", Dr. Kay dissociates this service in the mind of Jesus from any connection with the meaning of the Passover, though he appears to modify the position taken up earlier when we reach p. 96. He holds that the interpretation Jesus put upon eating and drinking at the Last Supper is of chief importance for our understanding of the Communion Service. It is argued that our Lord did not intend His actions in taking bread, giving thanks and breaking the bread to assume the significance they have done in the development of the Christian liturgy. Dr. Kay illustrates his points with numerous quotations from ancient liturgies.

JAMES M. TODD.

^ **The Household of God.** By LESSLIE NEWBIGIN. 155 pp. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

Rather more than forty years ago John Oman wrote "The Church and the Divine Order", in which he had this sentence about Catholic and Protestant views of the nature of the Church: "Nothing but confusion of mind can arise from any attempt to combine these two utterly antagonistic positions" (p. 311). All he could hope for was that we might "even here embrace our differences in a mutual charity". About twenty years ago he had a pupil who was later to falsify at least to some extent that ominous dictum; and the Kerr Lectures for 1952, delivered in Glasgow by that pupil, Lesslie Newbigin, are a most able and searching testimony to what he has learned about the Church, first as a missionary and later as a bishop in the Church of South India. A large part of his book is devoted to an examination of three main types of teaching about the nature of the Church: the Catholic, with its emphasis on the sacramental life in the Body; the Orthodox Protestant, with its exaltation of the Word; and what Newbigin describes as the Pentecostalist, with its emphasis on experience of the Holy Spirit. Each of these is reviewed at length; and a remarkable feature of the treatment of them is the judicious marshalling of the biblical evidence on which each is founded: this is so well done that it alone would make the book worth studying. The conclusion is drawn that each has witnessed to an important truth about the nature of the Church, which is, however, immediately distorted as soon as it is held in separation. This discussion is set within the context of the author's conviction, which he argues *passim*, that "the nature of the Church is never to be finally defined in static terms, but only in terms of that to which it is going. It cannot be understood rightly except in a perspective which is at once missionary and eschatological, and only in that perspective can the deadlock of the present ecumenical debate be resolved" (p. 25). It will be evident, therefore, that the book is by no means merely academic; it is actual, quite prophetically so; and it will make as important a contribution to the discussion of Christian unity as William Nicholls's *Ecumenism and Catholicity*; in many ways the two books illuminate one another. If the issues here raised and discussed were honestly faced, we might well be brought to a frame of mind in which much that now seems almost impossible might come within our grasp.

JOHN HUXTABLE.

Episcopacy and Reunion. E. R. FAIRWEATHER and R. F. HETTLINGER. 118 pp. Mowbrays. 12s. 6d.

This volume, originally published in Canada in 1952, consists of six lectures delivered to a conference of clergy at Edmonton, Alberta. The two lecturers, who represent different schools of thought within the Anglican Communion, expounded the issues indicated in the title from their own points of view; and, as the Bishop of Durham says in his deservedly cordial foreword to the English edition, they illustrate the possibilities of fruitful converse between opposing traditions. Dr. Fairweather represents the Anglo-Catholic tradition, while Mr. Hettlinger represents the point of view associated in this country with the name of Prof. Norman Sykes. Both of them argue their cases with learned shrewdness; and while this book is of chief importance to Anglicans, all who are concerned for Christian unity will watch this debate with the keenest interest: whatever its result, it cannot but do good to have the issues thus fairly and squarely stated.

While there is nothing very original in the matter presented to the reader, there are two points which call for comment; both of them refer to Dr. Fairweather's portion of the work. It is good to see that he rejects the lamentable use of the *shaliach* argument upon which the authors of that learned *tour de force*, *The Apostolic Ministry*, sought to rest so much;

and it is encouraging that the Bishop of Durham believes that this gives to Dr. Fairweather's doctrine "a greater security." If Anglo-Catholic thinkers are increasingly certain that Dr. Kirk and his collaborators have led them into a cul-de-sac, it will be a great gain all round. It is good, also, to have Dr. Fairweather's vigorous and precise reminder that it is really a confusion of the argument to suppose that reunion and intercommunion present us with essentially different problems and that we can get on somewhat faster if we look at one rather than the other. "Theologically speaking, reunion (the amalgamation of organizations) and intercommunion (mutual admission to the sacraments and interchange of ministers) present the same problems" (p. 47). That is a remarkably seasonable word for all British Christians today.

JOHN HUXTABLE.

The Third World Conference on Faith and Order, Lund, 1952. Edited by OLIVER S. TOMKINS. 380 pp. S.C.M. 21s.

This volume is of great importance to all who are concerned for the progress of the churches towards the realization of their unity in Christ, and will be an indispensable source book for the growing band of research students who are engaged in tracing the genesis and career of the ecumenical movement. The editing was the last official act of Dr. Oliver Tomkins as Secretary of the Faith and Order Commission, in which capacity he has made a distinctive and precious contribution to the cause he has so much at heart.

Part I of the volume consists of the Report to the Churches, already reviewed in this Journal. Part III gives an account of the Proceedings of the Conference, with verbatim reports of all the larger utterances and full summaries of the debates at the plenary sessions. The Programme of the Conference, lists of Delegates and Consultants, and the Constitution of the Faith and Order Commission find their places in the Appendixes. Some readers will particularly welcome Part II, entitled "From Edinburgh to Lund," which in a matter of a dozen pages gives an admirably succinct account of the story of Faith and Order discussions during the period 1937-1953, continuing the history given in earlier volumes *Faith and Order, Lausanne, 1927*, and *Faith and Order, Edinburgh, 1937*.

To one who was privileged to be present at the Conference this volume recalls many happy moments and memorable experiences. But what does this volume amount to dispassionately considered? What advances in the mutual understanding and drawing together of Christian communions does it record? It is very hard to answer these questions. As the Conference progressed one began to wonder whether the particular method of theological discussion followed at these Faith and Order Conferences, once so fruitful, is not now showing diminishing returns. The Conference itself, as it appears in this record, seemed more than half aware of this. A leading Anglo-Catholic speaks of stalemate (p. 272) and expresses his conviction that "liturgy is the focal point round which ecumenical work must now move." There seems to be universal agreement that we shall not come closer together until we have learned to enter far more deeply into one another's traditions of worship; but how can we do that so long as it is still impossible for us all to meet at the Table of the Lord? It is all very disheartening.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

Criticism and Faith. By J. KNOX. 126 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 8s. 6d.

Professor Knox, of Union Theological Seminary, vindicates the right of critical scholarship to pose as the defender of the faith. He himself is a doughty critic of by no means conservative leanings, and it is good to have

his contribution to this vital subject. The basis of faith is a divine saving event "continuous with Jesus of Nazareth but not to be simply identified with him". This is beyond the reach of negative criticism, Knox argues, reviving the old distinction between Jesus and Christ: "the meaning of Christ is not restricted to what was present in the self-consciousness of Jesus". The belief that Christ is the self-revelation of God must not be given up in exchange for any life of Jesus made possible by the latest historical research (the underlying assumption of modernism); nor is it imply the Gospel records regarded as historically accurate in every detail (the assumption of fundamentalism). The authority of the New Testament consists in its being our only means of access to the Event which created the Church, and the justification of criticism is that it helps our understanding of that event "in its original character and impact". Well and clearly said; but it would have been clearer to define the Event in terms of the life of Jesus only, rather than make it include the activity of the Spirit in the life of the Church. This book deserves to be widely discussed, especially in fraternals.

E. C. BLACKMAN.

God Hidden and Revealed. By JOHN DILLENBERGER. 193 pp. Muhlenberg Press, Pa., U.S.A. \$2.50.

The sub-title of this able work of technical theology is "The Interpretation of Luther's *deus absconditus* and its significance for religious thought". It provides a critical analysis of German-speaking theology from Ritschl to Barth, including Loofs and Harnack, Kattenbusch and Holl, Heim, Seeberg, Althaus, Elert, Otto and Brunner, and it closes with an important constructive statement. Dr. Dillenberger says "The inner compulsions of practically every German historian of theology, and of theologians who are not primarily historians, to study Luther and to use him for systematic purposes is hard for Anglo-Saxons to understand. But without accepting this as a fact, little can be understood of German theology". Dr. Dillenberger sets aside what he thinks of as the confusions of Brunner in favour of the more acute perceptions of Barth. The theological task he sees as lying not between liberalism and neo-orthodoxy, but past neo-orthodoxy: "Even if one accepts Barth's major premise", he says, "the problem of more positive relations with the history of philosophy and culture must be raised". But the constructive chapter which contains Dr. Dillenberger's thinking will seem to many readers more generous and acceptable than that of Barth. The hiddenness of God is known through his revelation. But where is His revelation? Dr. Dillenberger is willing to find it not only in Christ, but in the Old Testament, and even in the history of religion, though he draws the line at philosophy. Perhaps if he had read some of the writings of A. E. Taylor or Clement C. J. Webb he might find some traces of revelation even in philosophy. Nevertheless, it is an interesting and able book.

H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Interpreting Theology 1918-1952. By DANIEL DAY WILLIAMS. 158 pp. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

To those who find the present situation in theology bewildering, this book will provide a trustworthy guide. Professor Williams, of Chicago, gives an introductory chapter on "The Theological Renaissance", and then discusses The Bible and Christian Truth, Christian Ethics and Society, Jesus Christ in History and Faith, and the Church. His general picture is this: "Apart from Barth's extraordinary system, which is unfinished, Brunner's *Dogmatic* which is not completed, Gustav Aulén's one volume *Doematic*, there is little system building going on. Rather, it is a time of widespread intellectual ferment, achieving a many-sided attack on many

problems. Everywhere there are signs of a breaking out of the shells of both orthodoxy and liberalism, but no single new direction clearly commands the field even in any of the historic traditions". Perhaps the most valuable chapter is that on the Bible. Professor Williams first sketches lucidly and accurately the teaching of Karl Barth, and then contrasts it with the teaching of Bultmann, Tillich, the followers of A. N. Whitehead and the Catholic and Anglican personalists. The writing is lucid and untechnical and the result is a great clarification of the issues. If there is more emphasis on work done in America than would be natural in an English book, that is all to the benefit of the total picture. Professor Williams has his own point of view, but it does not prevent readers gaining a sound general outlook besides many valuable vignettes of particular thinkers.

H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Kierkegaard and the Bible. An Index. (Princeton Pamphlets No. 9). By PAUL S. MINEAR and PAUL S. MORIMOTO. 34 pp. Princeton Theological Seminary, N.J., U.S.A. 75 cents.

No major study of the Biblical sources of Kierkegaard's ideas has yet appeared, so that the compilers of this index present students with a handy tool for future research, and with strong encouragement to weigh more accurately than hitherto the influence which the Bible exerted upon the Danish poet-philosopher. A stimulating introduction describes how Kierkegaard read his Bible, attributes indirectly many of the new accents in Biblical exegesis to his influence, and predicts that in the future Kierkegaard will be known as an expositor of Scripture; its enthusiasm must surely communicate itself to some who will develop the potential riches of the subsequent painstaking study.

CONRAD BONIFAZI.

Existentialism and the Modern Predicament. By F. H. HEINEMANN. 211 pp. A. and C. Black. 18s.

We are told that existentialism, having had its day as a fashionable philosophy, is now on its way out. However that may be, there is no perceptible diminution in the number of new books expounding and appraising it. Some of these are good, others not so good. Among the best of them is Dr. Heinemann's authoritative estimate of existentialism in the present volume. Dr. Heinemann has followed the course of the movement from the beginning and is personally acquainted with most of its leaders. He claims to have been the first to detect and to describe the new trend in philosophy in a work he published in 1929, *Neue Wege der Philosophie*. It was in this book that he gave to the new movement the name *Existenz-philosophie*. His judgments on its past phases and present position are always shrewd and worthy of respect. Examining the contribution of the leading existentialist philosophers in turn, he tries to decide what is living and what is dead in their teachings. His general conclusion is that while existentialism must be judged to have exhausted itself and to have issued in contradictions, yet it has uncovered a fundamental human experience whose true interpretation can be given only by a metaphysic that transcends all contemporary systems. Logical Positivism cannot be allowed the last word; not all metaphysical statements can be dismissed as meaningless. As an instalment of such a metaphysic we get from Dr. Heinemann the thesis that man is fundamentally a *responsive* being. The category of question and answer must be replaced by that of response, which is a more inclusive idea. Now if the issue of existentialism is to establish that man is essentially responsive, Christian believers cannot but rejoice. But when we are told that "what matters is the manner in which *we* respond, not whether God answers or not", we know that here, surely, we must turn

from philosophy to revelation. If to be responsive is really the essence of man, then the first and last reality in the universe is not man and his need but God and His grace.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

The Human Tradition. By H. J. BLACKHAM. 252 pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 21s.

Mr. H. J. Blackham has to his credit a very useful book on *Six Existentialist Thinkers*. In this new volume he deals with Humanism as a practical alternative to Christianity. He is a realist whose essential sanity and candour give him a great advantage over some of his humanist confrères, and incidentally make him a far more worth while antagonist for Christian thinkers. Some of his criticisms on Christianity are very shrewd, particularly his appraisal of Reinhold Niebuhr. But it is a pity that his style does not make more concessions to the reader; on pages 5 and 6 there is a sentence over thirteen lines long with no intermediate stop of higher value than the comma! The doctrine of Original Sin, however refined and reinterpreted, remains for humanists the head and front of our Christian offending. Christians cannot fail to profit by a reading of this book. They will react violently against its main thesis but they will not fail to realize that in this author they are meeting a humanist thinker with whom it is a pleasure for Christian apologists to do business.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

A History of Philosophy, Vol. 3, Ockham to Suarez. By FREDERICK COPLESTONE. 479 pp. Burns Oates. 30s.

In this third volume of his massive *History of Philosophy* Father Coplestone pursues his majestic and magisterial way. In the latest instalment we find the same excellencies that have characterized the work from the beginning—copious material deftly arranged and presented, a style of quiet distinction and enviable clarity, and, above all, profound scholarship and a calm objectivity of judgment that combine with the rest to make this one of the major intellectual enterprises of our time. The period represented here covers at the earlier end the important figure of William of Ockham, and at the later the Jesuit philosopher, Francis Suarez, and, in between, the philosophies of the Renaissance, Francis Bacon and the beginnings of modern science.

Political philosophy plays an important part in this volume. Apart from Ockham and Suarez themselves, a galaxy of important thinkers flourished within this period, and are duly treated by Father Coplestone. But when Marsilius of Padua gets a chapter to himself, it is disappointing to find Machiavelli, Thomas More, Hooker, Bodin, Althusius and Hugo Grotius all disposed of within the compass of a couple of dozen pages. Still, no doubt Father Coplestone could plead the exigencies of his well-thought out scheme. The value of the book as a tool of learning is greatly enhanced by an opulent bibliography and an excellent index.

H. F. LOVELL COCKS.

Some Main Problems of Philosophy. By G. E. MOORE. 380 pp. Muirhead Library of Philosophy. Allen & Unwin. 25s.

These lectures were delivered in London in 1910-11. In them, we are still facing the abstract problems of philosophy as they were understood before existentialism requested the whole philosophic approach. They are based on the exploded assumption that man is just a thinking animal, and that philosophy is just a 'balcony' attempt "to give a general description of the whole universe" (p. 1). Here is a closely reasoned argument concerning what is supposed to be 'philosophic truth', based upon the supposition that truth is nothing more than the intellectual relation between

the universe and the human conception of it. This book is out of date, not in the least because the lectures were given 40 odd years ago, but because it utterly fails to realize that in 1954 students of philosophy have to face each and every problem of philosophy in a totally new way and with new presuppositions. Can we separate the intellect from all else in man in our approach to truth, and even if abstractly we can, can this possibly lead us to truth and reality? *Cogito ergo sum* is no longer an unquestioned basis for philosophizing. *Existenz* is a fundamental category which every modern philosophical student must work with, and of which this book has not the glimmer of a mention. It is therefore of antiquarian interest in showing what the study of philosophy used to be like for students 50 years ago. As such, it has merits, great merits, and is one of the best of its kind. It deals mainly with two problems: the first, that of epistemology, how we know the external world; the second, the problem of general ideas or universals. For sheer meticulous attention to every possible detail of thought and every possible argument and criticism, this book stands out supremely. It is a marvellous training ground for the student in abstract thinking, if his mind survives the strain! For as the front flap tells us, any student wading through this mental discipline will find that "philosophy is no picnic".

H. V. MARTIN.

Idealistic Thought in India. By P. T. RAJU. 454 pp. Allen & Unwin. 42s.

This is a very competent piece of work by a leading Indian Professor of Philosophy. It reveals not only a remarkable grasp of the subject but also the outstanding subtlety of the Indian mind on abstract themes and a mind well trained to deal with philosophy in a clear and comprehensive manner. This work is addressed not only to the orientalist but also to the Western metaphysician. In days when idealism as a system of understanding reality is being questioned, it is well to have such an outstanding exposition of it in its various forms. Idealism means different things to different people. But Dr. Raju maintains that if carried to their logical conclusion, even empiricism and realism must end in some form of idealism. He defines idealism as that system of thought which asserts the reality of the ideal and explains the world accordingly. After several chapters devoted to the study of Western formulations, the author deals with Vedantic Idealism and Buddhistic Idealism. One of the most valuable parts is that given to an account of contemporary idealism in India, both Hindu and Islamic. The chief lack in the book is that it does not seem aware of the challenge of existentialism to idealism. Reality is not just a matter of thought: that is only 'thought-reality'. Reality is not just as we have to think it but as we have to live it. Every individual is a microcosm of reality itself, comprising in a sense the whole of reality. It is therefore not enough to discuss the nature of knowing and the nature of being and to ignore the more vital nature of existing. There is no mention of Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Heidegger, Marcel or Satre. There is a good glossary of Indian philosophical terms.

H. V. MARTIN.

The Principal Upanisads. Edited with Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes by S. RADHAKRISHNAN. 958 pp. Allen & Unwin. 50s.

This book will, I believe, remain for many years a standard and authoritative edition of the principal Upanisads and an indispensable aid to the Western student of Indian religion; and what greater and more understanding mind could we desire to lead us through these otherwise difficult Indian scriptures than India's greatest religious philosopher, Radhakrishnan? There are 145 pages of general introduction. It is main-

tained that the Upanisads, though remote in time from us, are not remote in thought, once the mythology is separated from the message. These scriptures form the foundations on which the beliefs of millions of our fellow human beings are based. We cannot understand India without some understanding of the Upanisads. The Sanskrit text in Roman characters is followed verse by verse with an English translation, followed again by illuminating notes and references. These relate the text to the thoughts of the world's great philosophers and frequent references are made to Christian thought and ideas. Two appendices, a selected bibliography and a general index are included.

H. V. MARTIN.

How to Know God. The Yoga Aphorisms of Patanjali. Translated with a new commentary by SWAMI PRABHAVANANDA and CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD. 143 pp. Allen & Unwin. 9s.

Eastern mystical philosophy has a great attraction for some of those Western minds which have revolted against the complicated materialistic and mechanistic civilization of our present age and have failed to find the Christian outlook on life which combines the material and the spiritual. To such this book should be helpful. Patanjali was a Hindu philosopher of whom we know little. Even the date of these Yoga Sutras of his cannot definitely be fixed any nearer than sometime between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. He was not altogether an original thinker, but he took the outlines of Yoga from the Upanisads and restated the principles of its philosophy and practice. These aphorisms are intended to teach certain spiritual disciplines and techniques of meditation and mind control in order to enable a man to achieve unitive knowledge of the Godhead. The assumed doctrines of reality are those of Upanisad Hinduism. The commentary on the Sutras is illuminating and well done, and the book as a whole gives us an interesting understanding of the Yoga outlook. Technical terms are well explained. There is a short index.

H. V. MARTIN.

Asia and Western Dominance. By K. M. PANIKKAR. 530 pp. Allen & Unwin. 30s.

Sardar Pannikar is a noted Indian historian, author and diplomatist who has been Indian ambassador in China and Egypt. The period covered by this survey is what he calls the Vasco Da Gama epoch, from 1498 to 1945, that is, from the time of the first inroad of Europeans into Asia, through the rising conquest of India by Britain and the control of China and the Far East by the various Great Powers, to the recent almost complete recovery of Asian sovereignty. For European readers this work is especially interesting in that it presents the vast sweep of Asian history during four and a half centuries from the viewpoint of an Asian. So far as his interpretation of history goes it is fascinating reading, and on the whole fairly objective and impartial, whilst his analysis of the various factors at work is masterly.

The most important section for Christian readers is that on Christian missions. Here, I must point out, the author seems to show much more of an anti-Christian bias than should any objective historian. Sadar Pannikar admits that he was educated in a mission school and spent some time at the Madras Christian College. This at least is reflected in his clear and stylish English and in his general cultural outlook. But in this section on Christian missions he utterly fails to understand the real motives lying behind Christian missionary enterprise in Asia. It is true that wrong and perverted methods have at times been used; and here he rightly distinguishes between Roman and Protestant attitudes. But it is scarcely good history

continually to overstress the mistakes and to minimize or ignore the successes, and consistently to misinterpret the missionary motive almost entirely as one of racial superiority and cultural aggression. Otherwise, this is a book heartily to be recommended. There are several fine illustrations, two good maps and a satisfactory index.

H. V. MARTIN.

The Experience of Death and the Moral Problem of Suicide. By PAUL-LOUIS LANDSBERG. 102 pp. Rockliff. 8s. 6d.

This is a provocative book by a young German professor of philosophy (almost but not quite a Roman Catholic), who died in Orianenberg after arrest by the Gestapo in 1943. The problems examined in these two essays were, therefore, for him far from being merely academic. They are treated with intellectual acuteness and evident scholarship; in more than one sense they have a profoundly "existential" flavour. By 'the experience of death' Landsberg does not mean the act of dying, but, rather, an awareness of death not only as an ultimate and inevitable fact but also as an immediate possibility. The conclusion to which he comes is that only "the acceptance of death transforms death". His discussion of suicide is much more controversial. He is not easy about the wholesale condemnation of suicide characteristic of traditional Christianity, and subjects the discussion of it by St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas to penetrating analysis, as a result of which he finds them inadequate, and decides that the only final condemnation of suicide is in the cross of Christ. Whether his argument will carry widespread agreement it will be interesting to see: what is certain is that Landsberg has made most discussions of suicide look shallow. This, therefore, is a book to ponder.

JOHN HUXTABLE.

Ethics. By A. C. EWING. 183 pp. English Universities Press. 6s.

It is an outstanding achievement to have written such an informative, readable yet learned study on *Ethics* for the "Teach Yourself Books". Written with no parade of learning, it starts by reminding the general reader that he is not a complete beginner in this subject. Then the author seeks to sort out the various answers that have been given to the problems what do the terms 'good' and 'bad' mean, how do we apply them to anything, and what is the nature of ethical judgment. The great names in moral science appear, Aristotle, Plato, Kant, J. S. Mill, Sidgwick, Rashdall, G. E. Moore, C. D. Broad, David Ross, G. C. Field and E. E. Carrigg; but Dr. Ewing's book is not at all a mere catalogue of what others have thought. Rather he calls them as witnesses as he discusses such topics as "the pursuit of the general happiness" or "duty for duty's sake". The exposition is most lucid, and this little book provides an excellent introduction to the subject.

JOHN HUXTABLE.

Mental Health and the Prevention of Neurosis. By JOACHIM FLESCHER. 605 pp. Allen and Unwin. \$5.95.

This ambitious work covers an extremely large field. Part I deals with Childhood, Part 2, with Normal Development, Part 3 with Abnormal Development (neurotic, perverse, psychotic and delinquent), Part 4 with Principles of Psychic Health and Part 5 with Prevention of Neurosis. This is an immense programme even for 600 pages. As a result the book falls midway between the popular manual for general enlightenment and the text book for the specialist. It is neither the one nor the other but partakes of both, and often mixes popular with technical exposition. It may be somewhat beyond the general reader and perhaps best meets the need of the serious student who is not a specialist.

The book is based on wide experience. The author moved from Rome,

where this volume was first published, to the U.S.A., where he is the Assistant Clinical Director of the Jewish Board of Guardians' Child Guidance Institute. His point of view is that of the orthodox Freudian instinct theory, including the extremely questionable theory of a Death Instinct as the source of aggression. To me, explanations in terms of instincts are tantalizingly incomplete and unsatisfying, since it is impossible to understand any impulse except as a reaction to some object and as a function of object-relationship situations. Flescher includes Melanie Klein and Fairbairn in his bibliography but, like American writers in general in this field, shows no sign of appreciating the radical changes in theory necessitated by their discoveries concerning 'internal psychic objects'. American analysis appears to ignore British work on the theory of object-relationships. Flescher brings aggression to the forefront as the main causal factor in anxiety, as against Freud's reference of anxiety to libidinal frustration. But the assumption of a Death Instinct, involving the view that actual aggressive impulses are innate, and active prior to experience, prevents his recognizing that aggression is never met with as an unconditional impulse, always as a reaction to libidinal frustration or thwarting of the positive strivings of the personality.

An outstandingly useful chapter in a practical way is Ch. 10 concerning the distorting and destructive influence of the domineering and openly or secretly masculine woman on marital and family life. It is a pleasure to quote this author's own summary of his chapters on psychic health and prevention of neurosis: "I hope to show the serious error and patent injustice indulged in by adults when they sacrifice a child's carefree present to a hypothetically 'fine' future. . . . We have ample proof that *difficulties in adult life* are more easily overcome by one who enjoyed freedom of expression and warm relationships with his parents in his childhood years than by one whose youth was overshadowed by fearful concern and rigid preparation for his adulthood" (p. 320). This book will repay careful study by ministers and all who seek to understand themselves and their fellows.

HARRY GUNTRIP.

The Meaning of Ecumenical by W. A. Visser 't Hooft (S.C.M. Press, 2s.), gives a concise history of the use of the word *ecumenical*. The General Secretary of the World Council of Churches has produced a scholarly essay, and recognizes as well as most that the present use of the word is not altogether irreproachable. But what is likely to be accepted instead?

One Christ, One World, One Church: a Short Introduction to the Ecumenical Movement. By NORMAN V. HOPE. 96 pp. Independent Press. 3s. 6d.

What is the significance of the Assembly of the World Council of Churches which is to be held at Evanston in August? This book, by the Professor of Church History at Princeton, has appeared just in time to tell us. Prof. Hope gives an excellent sketch of Protestant moves towards understanding and union since the Reformation, with special reference to our own times, and frankly considers both our hopes and our problems. The book is packed with information, and contains a full bibliography.

A. R. V.

RELIGION

LIFE AND WORK

Holy Bible: Pitt Minion Reference Bible. 957 pp. Cambridge University Press. 13s. 6d. to 67s. 6d.

The Pitt Minion Reference Bible is a production on which the Cambridge University Press should be congratulated. It reflects very commendably on typographers, paper-makers and binders. The specially designed type-face is clear and pleasant, and the paper combines lightness with excellent opacity. Although the India paper edition is only a shade over half an inch thick and weighs less than twelve ounces, the paper surface is a good white and there is no "show through". The text is the Authorized Version, the usual references being provided in a new and clearer form. The ordinary edition contains the Bible, a complete list of name pronunciations and eight indexed maps, and is priced from 13s. 6d. to 60s. according to paper and binding. There are various other editions including extras such as coloured illustrations, concordance, Bible dictionary and notes, at prices from 18s. to 67s. 6d.

A. R. VINE.

Companion to Congregational Praise. Edited by K. L. PARRY and ERIK ROUTLEY. 580 pp. Independent Press. 30s.

Those who use *Congregational Praise* are to be congratulated on having such an excellent Companion to their hymn-book, edited with scrupulous care by Mr. Parry and Dr. Routley. Here they will find all the material that they can reasonably require to fulfil the editor's hope that they may "sing with the understanding."

The Rev. A. G. Matthews writes a General Introduction which covers hymn-singing down to the present day. It provides a background against which the reader can fill in details as they are accumulated from the ample material provided elsewhere in the book. Then comes a contribution from the late Dr. A. J. Grieve, headed "Congregational Praise: Some Back Numbers". Here we have descriptions of the books specially associated with the "Congregational Way" from Ainsworth in 1612 to the volume to which this is the *Companion*. Miss Elsie H. Spriggs follows with "A Note on Children's Hymns", which is both theoretical and practical, and should be read by all who have the choosing of hymns for children. Very rightly Miss Spriggs deprecates limiting children to those hymns labelled as Children's Hymns in our books. When asked to choose a hymn for themselves their choice is often both surprising and illuminating.

We then come to the main part of the book: notes on the words and tunes of each hymn, followed by biographical notices on the authors and the composers. These have been compiled with great care, and will be invaluable to future hymnologists. The editors will welcome suggestions for minor emendations in future editions, and among others I would note the following:

65. *Stroudwater* is in *Anchors's Collection*, c. 1721.

67. *La Scala Sancta* is hardly a "little devotional manual". It is a folio.

122. *Winchester New*. This is John Wesley's *Swift German Tune* in 1742. It is given the name *Winchester New Tune* in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, 1754.

145. *Easter Hymn*. Arnold does not give this until his second edition of 1750, where it is not yet quite in the modern form. The approximation was gradual.

In the Biographical Notes:

P. 363. Burkitt did not compose the tunes for his *Three Hymns for Whitsuntide*. The tunes are German and Dutch which he harmonized.

P. 424. Holdroyd's first edition is c. 1724, the second c. 1728. The remaining editions are dated on the title-pages: third 1733, fourth 1746, fifth (a much enlarged book) 1753.

P. 456. (Madan) The date of the *Lock Collection* should be 1769 if it is the music edition to which reference is intended.

P. 543. Wilkins: For Thame read Great Milton. There is no evidence for Wilkins being a butcher.

Of the indexes the most striking is that of sources referred to in the notes. Here are 396 entries, and a further seven in a footnote at the end. Where so much is given it may seem greed to ask for more, but I wish the editors had been able to give the location of the rarer works to which they refer. Here are a few suggested emendations:

No. 126: c. 1740; No. 135: 1735 (Title-page); No. 145: delete *Calcott* (see No. 179—a very different book); No. 146: read *London* in place of *Manchester*; No. 151: delete *New*. The adjective did not appear in the title until the fourth ed.; No. 185: add *London*.

I must also refer to the excellent extended Notes. In that on the names of Hymn-tunes the editors display remarkable restraint in view of the confusion which reigns. It is of ancient origin. The tune *Burford*, for example, received eight different names within the first forty years of its life. The note on Gathering-notes is also most interesting.

The printers and publishers deserve praise for the pleasing format of the book, and for the moderate price at which they offer a book of this character.

MAURICE FROST.

Genesis I-XI (The Torch Bible Commentaries). Edited by ALAN RICHARDSON. 134 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

This is both an Introduction and a Commentary. The author is Professor of Theology at Nottingham University. He deals helpfully with such themes as "Myth and Ritual", "Science and Genesis", and "The Place of Genesis in the Christian Scriptures". The author has consulted the most recent work, including Hooke, Vischer, and Von Rad. His own comments are brief and clear. The commentary itself is divided into 12 chapters, each with its own introduction. The book should be helpful to those who have to preach from or teach from the earlier chapters of Genesis and who wish to understand the place of Genesis in Christian Scripture.

JAMES WOOD.

The Throne, The Cradle and The Star. By J. ERNEST RATTENBURY. 120 pp. Epworth. 8s. 6d.

With this volume Dr. Rattenbury completes the trilogy which "taken together covers the whole of the Christian Year from Advent to Trinity Sunday". The many who have delighted in the two preceding volumes will not fail to rejoice in the third, which is marked by the same breadth of scope and incisive style. Here is preaching in the grand manner, which is at the same time wholly up to date; and it will, we hope, become the ideal for many younger preachers, even if at times it becomes also their despair. Certainly no one can say that there are not fine modern sermons to read and that he cannot see how "it" is done. The most intriguing sermon is "A Great Man and a Little Child", a fascinating study of our

Lord's saying that the least in the Kingdom is greater than John the Baptist; and perhaps the greatest of them is "The Centurion", with its account of the author's hearing a most unusual sermon one Sunday when he went to Mass in a Roman Catholic Church. Taken all in all, this is as fine a book of sermons as has recently appeared, quite worthy to stand beside its two forerunners; and that is praise indeed.

JOHN HUXTABLE.

African Harvest. By T. E. LLOYD. 96 pp. Lutterworth Press. 5s.

The author is a Travelling Secretary of the Africa Inland Mission and tells the story of a journey he took visiting mission stations in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. He writes of the response made to Christianity in these areas and gives many pictures of native African life. JAMES M. TODD.

Studies in the Meaning of Christianity. 71 pp. 2s. 6d.

Prayer in Quaker Thought and Practice. By W. MAUDE BRAYSHAW. 40 pp. 1s. 6d. Friends Home Service Committee.

To encourage discussion and spiritual growth several Friends have contributed studies to form a handbook for those who, committed to God's service, seek to understand the implications of Christian discipleship. These studies outline the nature of religious experience, of faith, God's revelation of Himself, the nature of man, Christian discipleship and the experience of the Holy Spirit, the Bible and its use, the Christian Community and the Christian Consummation. The pressure created by confining so great an inquiry within small bounds is relieved by the personal rather than academic approach of the writers, and by their omissions, which also in their turn serve to stimulate inquiry, while the companion booklet on Prayer more than compensates for omitted discussion of the subject under Christian Discipleship. Confronted by reports that in some meetings of the Society of Friends "vocal prayer is rarely if ever heard", and replying to the query, "What do Friends mean by prayer?" the author shows how leaders of Quaker thought have stressed the essential place of prayer in individual devotional life and the corporate practice of the Society during 300 years. A bibliography indicates rich sources whence the study itself is chiefly derived. The book offers much wisdom, exerting a power which calls the reader to measure the quality of his own conversation with God.

CONRAD BONIFAZI.

In *A Faith for Tough Times* (S.C.M., 8s. 6d.) Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick concentrates on certain emphases of the Christian Faith vitally relevant to our own times. (1) Amid all present confusion and uncertainty, eternal truth, eternal purpose and eternal moral law abide. Above all, God in Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and for ever. (2) We are obsessed by size and tend to regard great things as all-important; but "vitality is mightier than size". Vital persons, vital ideas and vital groups count in the long run for more than that which is merely colossal. (3) There are adequate resources available for us to win faith's victory. Through personal encounter with God we can have a first-hand religion which proves itself in experience as "a faith for tough times". If 8s. 6d. seems a high price for a book of only 124 pages, here is encouragement for the faint-hearted, a wealth of quotation and a fresh presentation of the eternal truths of the Gospel.

Many Christians are aware that they ought to give more time than they do to private prayer and meditation. The difficulty is to find or make time in these hurried days, and to know how to use it. At the request of the

Life and Work Department of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Rev. N. A. Turner-Smith, M.A., B.Litt., collected information from a representative number of people to make a "plain and objective record" of how they make time for prayer and of how they employ that time. This record, to which Mr. Turner-Smith has added suggestions of his own, has been published by the Independent Press under the title *These our Prayers—The Prayer Life of Ordinary Men* (5s.). This revealing and intensely practical book should be of real help and encouragement to those who want to learn how to pray. They will be grateful to all who have contributed to its pages.

In *Why Did Christ Die?* (Epworth, 4s. 6d.) Dr. Herbert G. Wood considers some of the answers given to this question by New Testament writers. Each of these talks, originally broadcast in the Midland Home Service, is based on a scriptural text, as was appropriate in a course entitled "Reading Your Bible". A wealth of thought and useful suggestion is packed into a small compass. Unfortunately, two references appear to be wrongly given. On p. 11, Acts 8, 25 should read Acts 8, 35; and on p. 15, John 12, 33 should read John 12, 32.

The Cross, the Resurrection and our Discipleship, by Douglas A. Griffiths (Epworth, 3s. 6d.), consists of a series of five sermons broadcast from Friendship House and dealing with the events of Holy Week. Mr. Griffiths has the gift of writing in a popular and narrative style.

Still They are Talking, by Leonard C. Horwood (Epworth, 5s.), contains eight sermon-addresses for the chief festivals of the Christian and natural year. They are written simply and helpfully, and seek to bear witness to the all-sufficiency of Christ for life.

Nearly all the recorded words of Jesus have been preserved not in the Aramaic which He spoke but in Greek. There are, however, four exceptions, all of which are found in St. Mark's Gospel. In a little book called *His Very Words*, by George Sinker (Hodder and Stoughton, 3s. 6d.), the suggestion is made that these were preserved in the original "because for Peter they contained the whole wonder and glory of the good news revealed to him by his intimate personal contact with the Lord Jesus Christ".

The Psychology of Love in Forgiveness, by Ernest White, M.B., B.S. (Epworth, 1s.), is the fourth of the Spiritual Healing Booklets issued by authority of the Methodist Commission on Spiritual Healing. The writer, who is a practising Christian psychologist, examines the three phases of mental reaction in those concerned from the time of the commission of an offence which causes estrangement to the moment when forgiveness is complete and harmony is restored.

In *The Seven Windows of Calvary* (Epworth, 3s. 6d.), Dr. J. Ernest Rattenbury has written simply yet with penetrating insight into the mystery of our redemption. The seven windows are, of course, the seven words that our Lord spoke from His Cross. The first two reveal His Deity and the remaining five show His Humanity. The author's hope is that one result of the publication of this book may be the introduction of the Three Hour Service, a relatively modern devotion in the Church of England, into an increasing number of Free Churches.

A Prayer Diary for Youth, by Leonard P. Barnett (Epworth, 3s. 6d.), is closely modelled upon Dr. John Baillie's *Diary of Private Prayer* and, as its title indicates, is designed for the use of young people. It provides prayers for each morning and evening of the month, with additional acts for use on a Sunday. These prayers and meditations cover a wide range of thought and subjects. Some of the longer and more involved sentences

might helpfully have been made more concise. There is some useful practical advice in a brief introduction.

The Religious Education Press has reprinted *A Prayer Project*, (6d.), by J. M. Macdougall Ferguson, which was first issued in 1946. It describes how the Sunday School children of a Junior Department in a new housing area in the Midlands learned to pray, and contains a considerable selection of "The Prayers the Juniors Wrote".

JAMES M. TODD.

The late Dr. Albert Peel's *Brief History of English Congregationalism* has been reprinted (Independent Press, 3s. 6d.). This provides within the compass of 94 pages an account of Congregationalism which will inform the young and refresh the old. Too few are acquainted with our history, and this little book makes it easy to remedy the deficiency.

The third impression of Dr. Leslie Cooke's *Upon This Rock* is now available (Independent Press, 3s.). In 79 pages Dr. Cooke outlines the general history of the Christian Church, shows how Congregationalism re-emerged at the Reformation, and sets out its relevance and challenge for today.

The Friends Home Service Committee has published two more Quaker Biographies, both at 1s. 3d. One is of *Corder Catchpool* by Jean C. Greaves and the other is of *Howard E. Collier* in the form of an autobiography with a brief introduction. Catchpool devoted his versatile abilities to social reform, pacifist witnessing and international affairs, while Collier was a doctor who started as a non-Quaker and later found in the Society of Friends the satisfying answers to life's problems. He gives an illuminating account, under the figure of sub-personalities, of his own inner struggles.

On this Rock, by Gordon Huelin (Religious Education Press, 4s.), gives in 96 pages a concise sketch of the history of the Christian Church. It is as well done as such severe limits of space allow, and will serve a valuable purpose if it stimulates to further study.

Independent Press has re-issued at 1s. *How to Say your Prayers*, a really practical guide to personal devotions by Eric Hodgson and H. A. Hamilton.

God's Word our Guide contains a progressive series of twenty short services for schools, featuring God's revelation and man's response. They are compiled by H. T. Salzer, and published by Religious Education Press at 9d.

A Text for the Day (Independent Press, 1s.) contains a week's "Lift up your Hearts" talks by Dr. Maurice Watts.

A series of eight *Picture Stories of Jesus* has been produced by the Lutterworth Press at 1s. 3d. each. Each book is quarto size, and contains seven Harold Copping pictures, well reproduced in full colour. On the opposite pages are descriptions of the pictures by Mary Miller. The first book is called *Jesus Came*, and those who get this will wish to get the others. They would make, in parts or as a set, excellent gifts for children of 6 to 12.

The Religious Education Press has re-issued its set of eight *Bible Painting Books*. Each book contains nine full-page pictures for colouring, designed with instructions and Bible references by Rene Cloke. At 6d. each these books are very good value.

The Way Ahead, by Wilfrid Winterton (Rush and Warwick, Bedford, 1s. 6d.), is a well compiled and informative booklet on the liquor traffic. Whether or not the author's suggestions for dealing with this traffic are acceptable, few who read his work will be unmoved by the clear recital of fact.

A. R. V.

MISCELLANEA

The Freedom of Doubt. By E. ALEXIS PREYRE. 229 pp. Harvill Press. 18s.

This is a philosophic *journal intime*, a collection, covering more than thirty years, of dated *pensées*, and incidentally an unusual anthology of religious texts. In his book the author has endeavoured "to express thoughts and feelings, movements of thoughts, movements of feelings as they occurred". His purpose is "to provoke thought and not to direct its issue". As his original title, *A l'Extrême du Scepticisme*, suggests, M. Preyre doubts with a thoroughness and persistence that might have surprised Descartes himself. For, unlike the sceptical philosophers, he doubts to such purpose that ultimately he liberates himself not only from all prejudice, all dogma, all certainty, but from doubt itself. From the limit of doubt, that state of 'indetermination' of which he finds the most exact description not among the sceptics but among the mystics, he attains, if only momentarily, to a peace which passes understanding, to a mystical oneness with God. At a time when philosophers play at splitting ever finer hairs behind the barriers of an increasingly unintelligible jargon, such a return to philosophy as a way of life is as stimulating as it is unexpected. This book has been revised and translated under the author's supervision, and contains a final section of notes which does not appear in the French edition. Detailed references are given, but in a book which leans so heavily on quotation from a dozen literatures, Eastern and Western, ancient and modern, the absence of an index is a grave defect.

Amy Carmichael of Dohnavur. By FRANK HOUGHTON. 390 pp. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

Amy Carmichael, founder of the Dohnavur Fellowship in South India, was born of Presbyterian stock at Millisle in County Down in 1867. After a childhood and youth spent partly in Northern Ireland and partly in England, she went, in 1893, as a missionary to Japan. Forced by ill-health to return to England, she was ultimately accepted by the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society for service in India, where she arrived in 1895 and remained until her death in 1951. The 'family' at Dohnavur, which originated in 1901 with the rescue of a single child, has in 50 years grown to number nearly one thousand. In the official Memorandum of Association the object of the Fellowship is stated to be:

To save children in moral danger; to train them to serve others; to succour the desolate and the suffering; to do anything that may be shown to be the will of our Heavenly Father, in order to make His love known, especially to the people of India.

Besides her life-work for the Fellowship, Amy Carmichael found time to write 35 successful books, most of them in the category of missionary biography, and to conduct a wide correspondence. Bishop Houghton, drawing freely on Amy's letters and diaries, has written an admirable life, vivid, detailed, self-effacing, of this remarkable woman. His book, which is illustrated, contains a list of Amy Carmichael's published works and many quotations from her verses.

Henry Joseph Wilson: Fighter for Freedom (James Clarke, 6s.), is a brief but readable account by Miss Mosa Anderson of one of the more remarkable of the great Victorian reformers. An uncompromising Radical, a Yorkshireman and a Nonconformist, H. J. Wilson (1833-1914), both

before and after he entered Parliament, identified himself with every good but unpopular cause. He was prominent in the Temperance movement and with his wife joined energetically in Josephine Butler's crusade against licensed prostitution. He was in the forefront of Gladstone's campaign for Home Rule in Ireland, took the side of the conciliators in the Boer War, and, when serving on the Opium Commission in 1894, alone had the courage to condemn the obscurantist attitude of the Indian Government. In an appreciation of Wilson written to celebrate his eightieth birthday it was said of him that although a man of deep religious convictions, he had no love for speculative theology. His Christianity was always practical. He may be said, in fact, to have brought a breath of religion into politics and something of the realism of politics into religion. In middle life he deserted Congregational chapels for Quaker meetings and, when asked why, replied that he so often wanted "to move an amendment to the sermon"!

In his narrative poem, *The Cathedral* (Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.), Mr. A. G. Chant traces the history not only of a great Gothic building but also of the site on which it is built, from the pagan altar in the greenwood, through Roman temple, Saxon and Norman churches, to

"... the timeless moment by the Spirit planned

When the dark stem shall bear the unexpected flower."

These 31 pieces of various lengths and in various metres reveal an unusual imagination, a poet's pleasure in words and rhymes, and, more than these, a deep Christian experience and faith.

In *The Priest and the Siren* (Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.), Mr. W. S. Handley Jones reprints ten literary studies which originally appeared in the London Quarterly Review. Whether he is concerned with the Christianity of Chesterton, the world of H. G. Wells, the works and faith of Bernard Shaw, the irrationality of D. H. Lawrence or the intellectualism of Aldous Huxley, Mr. Handley Jones writes out of wide knowledge, with catholic appreciation and in a charmingly intimate and unforced style. Only rarely, one feels, does he do less than justice where he cannot wholly sympathize. Was Arnold Bennett really such a vulgarian, or Galsworthy quite so ineffective as he would have us believe? In the first and last of these essays Mr. Handley Jones discusses the enmities and sympathies between religion and art, between the moral and the aesthetic consciousness. These two essays are the most original, and perhaps the most interesting, in the book.

As a collector of fairy tales and folk-lore M. Henri Pourrat may be called the Andrew Lang of France. *A Treasury of French Tales* (Allen and Unwin, 18s.), contains over forty tales selected from M. Pourrat's three full volumes and translated by Miss Mary Mian. In his wise and witty introduction M. Pourrat thus defines the message of his tales: "Each one of them cries out to the sons of the earth that it is high time to be happy". No collection of tales would be complete without illustrations, and no reviewer of this collection would be doing his duty who failed to draw attention to Miss Pauline Baynes's enchanting drawings.

In *Passe Partout for School and Home* (Newnes, 8s. 6d.), Mr. Frederick T. Day demonstrates the possibilities of this medium in binding and framing, model making and decorative work of all kinds. This book is designed primarily for teachers of handicrafts, but it also provides hints for the expert in such matters as wall and furniture decoration and work on glass and parchment. It is copiously illustrated.

P. A. SPALDING.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

International Review of Missions (Jan.) has the accustomed Survey of the past year, which ought not to be missed by anyone interested in the life and work of the Church throughout the world. Rev. N. Langford-Smith writes on 'Revival in Africa' and Rev. A. W. Loy on 'The Church among Indians in Fiji'.

Hibbert Journal (Jan.) includes 'How can Christian and Non-Christian Religions Co-operate', by Prof. Friedrich Heiler; 'A Life in Retrospect', by John Levy; 'Spiritual Aspects of the Creation of the State of Israel', by Prof. N. Bentwich; 'What is the place of O.T. in Christian Worship?' by Rev. E. F. F. Bishop; 'The Radical French Critics: Guignebert and Loisy', by Dr. H. G. Wood; 'Who is Orthodox?' by Dr. Albert Hall; 'Failure', by Daisy L. Hobman; Rev. Conrad Bonifazi's *Christendom Attacked* is well reviewed.

London Quarterly and Holborn Review (Jan.) includes 'Some Metaphysical Implications of the Christian Faith', by Dr. D. W. Bandey; 'Is there a Social Gospel?' by Rev. T. W. Bevan; 'What are Demons?' by Dr. Ed. Langton; 'An Approach to Buddhists' by Rev. M. H. Russell; 'The Catholic Church [i.e. R.C.] in the French Revolution', by Rev. R. Douglas Ord.

Friends' Quarterly (Jan.) includes 'Two Sources of Quaker Mysticism', by Howard H. Brinton; 'Quakerism as a weapon' (Voltaire's use of Quakerism in his attacks upon other forms of Christianity), by Macdonald Emslie; 'Morgan Llwyd and the Early Friends', by Rev. E. Lewis Evans.

Expository Times (Dec.) includes 'Guidance for the Preacher from the Greek Literary Critics', by Rev. Wm. Barclay; 'Romans VII Reconsidered' (1) by Dr. C. Leslie Mitton; 'Religious Education: The Words of Scripture or the Word of God?' by Dr. J. W. D. Smith. (Jan.). 'Romans VII Reconsidered' (2) by Dr. Leslie Mitton; 'N.T. Commentaries: (1) Classical Commentaries', by Rev. C. K. Barrett; 'Religious Education: David and Jerusalem', by Prof. W. D. McHardy; 'Dominical Authority for the Ministry of Healing', by Rev. Robert Leaney.

Modern Churchman (Jan.) includes editorial discussion of some Anglican attitudes to divorce; 'The Coming Revival of Liberalism', by Bishop Geoffrey Allen; 'Robertson of Brighton', by Rev. D. L. Scott; 'Tillich's Apologetic', by Dr. C. J. Wright; an interesting article on 'Flying Saucers: Fiction and Facts', by Dr. Martin Davidson.

Evangelical Quarterly (Jan.) has 'AAHΘEIA in the Pauline Corpus', by Prof. D. J. Theron; 'The Covenants and the Interpretation of O.T.', by Prin. E. F. Kevan; 'The Significance of Luther for Today', by Dr. A. Skevington Wood.

Church Quarterly Review (Oct.-Dec.) includes 'The Divine Law', by W. F. Ewbank; 'Planes of Revelation in Buddhology and Christology', by D. W. Gundry; 'A Note on the Monarchy', by C. H. Sisson; 'The Principles of Paul Elmer More', by Russell Kirk; 'St. Paul's Theory of Knowledge', by C. B. Armstrong.

Review of Religions (Nov.) has 'Prof. Nilsson's Contribution to the History of Religions', by Prof. Frederick C. Grant; 'Kierkegaard on the Existence of God', by J. Heywood Thomas; 'Martin Buber and Christian Thought', by Prof. Maurice S. Friedman; 'The Term Religion as a Conventional Symbol', by T. Foster Lindley; and 67 pages of reviews and Book Notes.

Yale Review (Winter) includes 'New Patterns of Democracy in India', by Vera Micheles Dean; 'The New Russian Intelligensia', by David J. Dallin; 'Robert Frost', by Prof. J. Warren Beach; 'Land, Food and People', by Firman E. Bear.

Huntington Library Quarterly (Nov.) includes 'The Craftsmanship and Theological Significance of Milton's *Art of Logic*', by Prof. Thomas S. K. Scott-Craig; 'Warburton and Brown Continue the Battle over Ridicule' by Prof. W. D. Templeman; 'Franklin and the Pulteney Mission', by Frederick B. Tolles, describes an episode in the American Revolution; 'Jack London's Use of Sinclair Lewis Plots', by Prof. Franklin Walker. 'Notes and Documents' concludes an especially interesting number.

London Magazine (Feb.) is the first number of a new literary magazine which has received a warm welcome. It includes contributions from T. S. Eliot, Louis Macneice, Hugo Charteris, William Plomer, Elizabeth Bowen, with three poems by Elizabeth Jennings and a letter from New York by Harvey Breit.